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[Vol. XXIV.
No. 2.

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

1915-16.

(Edited by the Honorary Secretary.)

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ART. VIII.—*The Ancient History of the Suez Canal from the times of the Ancient Egyptian Kings.*

(Read 15th April 1915.)

I.

The present war, especially the development that has taken place in it since Turkey joined the war, has drawn fresh attention of the civilized world to the Suez Canal which forms the highway between Europe and India. At such a time, the ancient history of the canal should interest many. The modern Suez Canal was constructed during the latter half of the last century. So, the title of the paper, *viz.*, "the Ancient History of the Suez Canal" may, perhaps, seem a little strange. But it is known, that there existed long before the Christian era, a great ancient canal which connected the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea, just as the modern Suez Canal does. The position of that ancient Canal was, in nearly half its course, well nigh near, and parallel to, the modern Suez Canal. It was specially so at the Suez end of it. So the old canal also may properly be called the Suez Canal. The object of this paper is to give a short history and account of that canal.

As a Parsee student, I take an interest in the ancient history of the Persians. So, during my visit of Europe in 1889, to attend the 8th Oriental Congress which met at Stockholm in that year, I managed to see some of the most prominent places connected with the history of the Achæmenians. Some of them are places of interest during the present war.

My visit of some of the centres of Achæmenian activity in Europe and Africa.

One of such places was Constantinople with the Dardanelles or the Hellespont and the beautiful Bosphorus, to cross which for his invasion of Scythia—the Saka of the Behistun Inscriptions (1, 6),¹ the modern Russian country between the Danube and the Don—Darius had put up a bridge. As said by Herodotus,² Darius commemorated this event by erecting two columns there with inscriptions in Persian and Greek.

The next important places I visited were Athens and the classical battlefield of Marathon, where one of the 15 decisive battles of the world, referred to by Creasy³, was fought, a battle which occupied the same

¹ Dr. H. C. Tolman's *Guide to the Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 118; Spiegel's *Inscriptions*, p. 5; Oppert, p. 24.

² Bk. IV, 87.

³ *Fifteen Decisive Battles* by Sir Edwin Creasy.

place in ancient history as the battle of Tours (A.D. 732) in later history. Had Darius won at Marathon, the whole of Europe would have, perhaps, as said by Professor Max Müller, become Zoroastrian, just as, had Abdul Rehman won at Tours, the whole of Europe would have become Mahomedan¹.

The third set of places, which I took an interest in, were in Egypt, the ruins of the old town of Memphis and the Isthmus of Suez. It was from Cairo that I had gone to the town of Suez, and from there, I had about 10 miles' ride towards the site of the old and the modern canals.

Egypt has been held, since very ancient times, to be the principal highway of commerce between Europe and India. So, it was, that all great conquerors, who aimed at one kind or another of World-empire, thought of conquering it. The ancient Greeks and Romans, the ancient Persians and the Macedonians, all tried to possess it.

Great invaders of India, like Darius the Great and Alexander the Great, first thought of conquering Egypt and then India. Napoleon Bonaparte, that semi-Alexander, who thought of conquering India, thought of conquering it.

II.

We learn from various ancient authors and old travellers, that canals existed in many countries long before the Christian era. Ancient China had its inland artificial navigation by means of canals. The Imperial Canal in China, which was completed in 1229, was 1,000 miles long and took about 40 days to navigate from one end to another. It was 30 fms (about 37½ ft.) in width. Instead of locks, as in the present canals, it had a system of sluices at which boats were hoisted up. Marco Polo thus describes this great canal of China: "You must understand that the Emperor hath caused a water-communication to be made from this city to Cambaluc in the shape of a wide and deep channel dug between stream and stream, between lake and lake, forming, as it were, a great river on which large vessels can ply. And thus there is a communication all the way from this city of Caiju to Cambaluc; so that great vessels with their loads can go the whole way. A level road also exists, for the earth dug from those channels has been thrown up so as to form an embanked road on either side."²

Col. Yule, quotes Rashiuddin to say, that "Kûblâi caused the sides of the embankments to be rivetted with stones, in order to prevent the

¹ Mahommedanism by Revd. Robinson, p. 7.

² The Book of Ser Marco Polo, translated by Sir Henry Yule (1903), Vol. II, pp. 174-75.

earth giving way. Along the side of the canal runs the high road to Machin, extending for a space of 30 days' journey, and thus has been paved throughout, so that travellers and their animals may get along during the rainy season without sinking in the mud Shops, taverns and villages line the road on both sides, so that dwelling succeeds dwelling without intermission throughout the whole space of 40 days' journey."¹

According to the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees, canals existed in ancient Irân from the early times of the Canals in Persia. Peshdâdian dynasty. Minocheher (Mânushchîhar) was the king of the dynasty, who is credited with the work of canals and such other irrigation works in Mesopotamia, the country of the Euphrates and the Tigris, which is now ruled over by Turkey, and where the modern famous Irrigation Engineer, Sir James Wilcox, made a long survey, a few years ago, to restore the country to its former prosperous state.

The Bundehesh, in its chapter on rivers says: "The sources of the Frât (the Euphrates) river are from the frontier of Arâm, they feed upon it in Suristân, and it flows to the Dijlat (the Tigris), and of this Frât it is that they produce irrigation over the land. It is declared that Mânushchîhar excavated the sources, and cast back the water all to one place, as it says thus: 'I reverence the Frât, full of fish, which Mânushchîhar excavated for the benefit of his own soul and he seized the water and gave to drink.'"²

The Pahlavi Minokkerad³, Zâdsparam⁴ and the Dinkard⁵ also refer to the irrigation works of the ancient Iranians.

Mirkond⁶, in his Rozat-us-Safa, speaks of king Minocheher as one who had dug a canal in connection with the Euphrates. His statement corroborates the Pahlavi Bundehesh.

Not only has Egypt been the ancient highway of commerce with Mesopotamia, but it has also been a country of ancient canals. According to Herodotus, Sesostri⁷s (Ramses II), was the first Egyptian King, who supplied a large number of canals to Egypt. "The entire face of the country was changed; for whereas Egypt had formerly been a region suited both for horses and carriages, henceforth it became entirely unfit

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 175, n. 2.

² Chapter XX, 10-11, West, S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 78.

³ Chapter XXVII, 44; S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 62.

⁴ Chapter XII, 3-4, S. B. E., XLVII, p. 134.

⁵ Book VII, Chapter I, 29-37, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 11.

⁶ Mirkond's *Rauzat-us-Safa*, translated by Shea, pp. 186-87.

for either. Though a flat country throughout its whole extent, it is now unfit either for horse or carriage, being cut up by the canals, which are extremely numerous and run in all directions. The king's object was to supply Nile water to the inhabitants of the towns situated in the mid-country, and not lying upon the river." ¹

According to Herodotus, it was after this introduction of numerous canals that Sesostris "made a division of the soil of Egypt among the inhabitants, assigning square plots of ground of equal size to all." ² He was, as it were, the first founder or introducer of a Town-Planning Act. Herodotus thought, that it was "from this practice, that Geometry first came to be known in Egypt, whence it passed into Greece." ³ We know that the proverb-like words, "There is no royal road to learning," were derived from the words of Euclid used in Egypt, while going over a special royal route to the palace, in conversation with one of its kings, who asked him to devise some method of learning Geometry shortly or easily. He said in reply: "There is no royal road to learn Geometry."

The Suez Canal, which forms the subject proper of this paper, was one of such canals in Egypt. Of all the Egyptian canals, this canal has, under different names in the different parts of its length, a long history of nearly 4,000 years. The history of this canal must begin with the history or with an account of the Isthmus of Suez, on a part of which the ancient canal was dug and on which the modern canal runs.

III.

The Physical Geography of the Isthmus of Suez shows, that the Isthmus was, at one time, covered with sea-water. The seas on both the sides—the Mediterranean and the Red—gradually receded and an Isthmus was formed. The attempts of Man have, therefore, tried to restore the country to, as it were, its original primitive natural state. In old historic times, the Red Sea ended, not at Suez as at present, but higher up at Serapium, where a gulf, called the Gulf of Heropolite, was formed. I give, at the end of this paper, a map of the canal, as reproduced from the one given by M. Menant in his "Stèle de Chalouf." The plan shows, not only the position of a large part of the present canal, but also the position of the old canals of the Egyptian Neco and Persian Darius. The gulf is shown on this map. When the waters of the Red Sea

¹ Herodotus, Bk. II., 108. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 178.

² *Ibid.*, Bk. II, 109. Vol. II, p. 179.

³ *Ibid.*

receded, the gulf gradually turned into a lake. This lake is, what is now known as, the Bitter Lake and is situated well nigh in the middle of the canal. Between this lake, which was once a gulf, and the Red Sea, there remained for some time a narrow water-way, but that also was filled up subsequently. By the process of evaporation, and by gradual reclamation by the sand of the surrounding slippery banks and by the sand brought in there by the waves, the lake became shallow and shallower. An occasional big sea-wave from the Red Sea, raised at high tide by the force of winds, forced itself towards the lake and added to its depth; but the more frequent process of evaporation and natural reclamation did its work, and made the lake shallow. The alternate strata of sandy soil and some marine animals show the alternate continuation of this state of affairs in ancient times.

Coming to historical times, we find that the site of the canal, more than once formed an isthmus. It was an isthmus in the time of the very early kings of Egypt. Then, in the time of Neco, its physico-geographical state was changed and it was no longer a perfect isthmus. Then again, in the time of Darius I of the Achæmenian kings of Persia, it assumed the form of a strait or a canal. Then again it reverted to its ancient natural position of an isthmus. Thus Trajan, the Roman king, is said to have again tried to turn its geographical condition. Thus attempts were more than once made to turn the isthmus into a strait or canal, though not always successfully.

Strabo, while defending Homer against the criticisms made in his time, doubting the truth of the poet's statements, excuses some of the statements, on the ground of their being "fictions,--not the offspring of ignorance,--but for the sake of giving pleasure and enjoyment"¹, and justifies others as true. Among the latter class is included the statement, that Homer's Menelaus "went by sea to Ethiopia."² He says "They who assert that Menelaus went by sea to Ethiopia, tell us he directed his course, past Cadiz into the Indian ocean;³ with which, say they, the long duration of his wanderings agrees, since he did not arrive there till the eighth year. Others, that he passed through the isthmus⁴ which enters the Arabian Gulf; and others

¹ Bk. I Chap. II. 30 Hamilton and Falconer's Translation (1854), Vol. I, p. 59

² *Ibid.*, Chap. II. 31, p. 60

³ "That is to say, that he made the entire circuit of Africa, starting from Cadiz, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope. Such was the opinion of Crates. Menelaus left the Mediterranean and entered the Atlantic, whence he could easily travel by sea into Ethiopia." (*Ibid.* n. 5)

⁴ "The Isthmus of Suez. This isthmus they supposed to be covered by the sea, as Strabo explains further on" (*Ibid.* n. 6)

again, through one of the canals. . . . As to the navigation of the isthmus, or one of the canals, if it had been related by Homer himself, we should have counted it a myth, but as he does not relate it, we regard it as entirely extravagant and unworthy of belief. We say unworthy of belief, because at the time of the Trajan war no canal¹ was in existence. It is recorded that Sesostris, who had planned the formation of one, apprehending that the level of the sea was too high to admit of it, desisted from the undertaking."²

In another place,³ Strabo, while saying that Homer was in ignorance of Egypt, Libya (Africa), the risings of the Nile and the Isthmus (Isthmus of Suez), speaks of it (the isthmus) as "separating the Red Sea from the Egyptian Sea." Here we find that he speaks of the Mediterranean as the Egyptian Sea.

According to Strabo⁴, the shortest route across Egypt was "towards Heroopolis (near Suez), to which from Pelusium (branch of the Nile) is the shortest road (between the two seas)." Heroopolis is spoken of as "situated in that recess of the Arabian Gulf which is on the side of the Nile."⁵ "Arabian Gulf" is here another name of the Erythraean Sea, now known as the Red Sea. The modern Bay of Suez was the ancient bay of Heroopolis.⁶

IV.

We will now see, what the ancient classical authors have said about this ancient water way. Before we proceed to do so, in order to follow the old nomenclature about the seas, let us note that the two seas were variously named by the ancients.

The canal connected the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. The Mediterranean Sea was known among the ancients as the Northern Sea, while the Red Sea was spoken of as the Southern Sea or the Erythraean Sea.⁷ The Red Sea is spoken of by Arab writers as Daryā-i-Kalzoum (دریای قلزم). It is so called from the name

¹ That is to say, the canal on the Isthmus of Suez connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea.

² Strabo, Bk. I, Chap. II, 31. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. I, pp. 60-61.

³ Bk. VII, Chap. III, 6. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. I, p. 458.

⁴ Bk. XVI, Chap. II, 30. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, p. 176.

⁵ *Ibid.* XVI, Chap. IV, 2, p. 189. *Ibid.* also *Ibid.* XVII, Chap. III, 20, p. 291. "The recess of the Arabian Gulf" is the Gulf of Suez (*Ibid.* p. 291, n. 1).

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 203, n. 3.

⁷ Herodotus, Bk. II, 158. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 244.

⁸ The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal by Ousley (1800), p. 1.

of the city of Kalzoum situated on the west coast of the Red Sea on the south of Suez.¹ The Mediterranean Sea is spoken of by Arab Geographers as Daryâ-i-Roum (دریای روم).

Though Herodotus speaks of Sesostris, as the first Egyptian king who gave a number of canals to the Egyptians, he does not, like Pliny, as we will see later on, credit him with a first attempt for the canal connecting the Red and the Mediterranean seas. He attributes the first attempt to Neco or Necos, the son of Psammetichus. He says: "This Prince was the first to attempt the construction of the canal to the Red Sea, a work completed afterward by Darius the Persian,—the length of which is four days' journey, and the width such as to admit of two triremes being rowed along it abreast. The water is derived from the Nile, which the canal leaves a little above the city of Bubastis, near Patumôis, the Arabian town, being continued thence until it joins the Red Sea. At first it is carried along the Arabian side of the Egyptian plain, as far as the chain of hills opposite Memphis, whereby the plain is bounded, and in which lie the great stone quarries; here it skirts the base of the hills running in a direction from west to east; after which it turns, and enters a narrow pass, trending southwards from this point until it enters the Arabian Gulf. From the northern sea to that which is called the southern or Erythræan,² the shortest and quickest passage, which is from Mount Casius, the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Gulf of Arabia, is a distance of exactly one thousand furlongs. But the way by the canal is very much longer, on account of the crookedness of its course. A hundred and twenty thousand of the Egyptians, employed upon the work in the reign of Necos, lost their lives in making the excavation. He at length desisted from his undertaking, in consequence of an oracle which warned him 'that he was labouring for the barbarian.' The Egyptians call by the name of barbarians all such as speak a language different from their own. Necos, when he gave up the construction of the canal, turned all his thoughts to war."³

Herodotus refers to the abovesaid attempt of Neco later on also.⁴ He also refers again to the successful attempt of Darius. Referring to the Arabian Gulf, he says, that therein, "Darius conducted the canal which he made from the Nile."⁵

¹ *Vide Ibid.* Map in the front, and also p. 13.

² *Ibid.* p. 6.

The Red Sea.

³ Herodotus, Bk. II, 158. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, pp. 442-45.

⁴ Bk. IV, 42. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.* IV, 39, p. 32.

The statement of Herodotus about the successful attempt of Darius must be taken as authoritative, because he speaks of what he himself saw. He was in Egypt about 30 years after the death of Darius, and he saw the canal working. He speaks of the canal in the present tense.

Aristotle was the first to say that Sesostris had planned a canal over the land of the Isthmus of Suez. According to him, his

Aristotle. (Sesostris') plan was to connect the Mediterranean and the Red Seas *via* the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.

He wanted to take advantage of the river Nile for nearly half the distance and then to connect the Red Sea with the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.

Strabo¹, in his account of Egypt (Book XVII), while speaking of canals, thus refers to the Suez Canal: "There is

Strabo. another canal also, which empties itself into the Red Sea, or Arabian Gulf, near the city Arsinoë, which some call Cleopatris.² It flows through the Bitter Lakes, as they are called, which were bitter formerly, but when the above-mentioned canal was cut, the bitter quality was altered by their junction with the river, and at present they contain excellent fish, and abound with aquatic birds.

"The canal was first cut by Sesostris before the Trojan times, but according to other writers, by the son³ of Psammiticus, who only began the work, and afterwards died; lastly, Darius the first, succeeded to the completion of the undertaking, but he desisted from continuing the work, when it was nearly finished, influenced by an erroneous opinion that the level of the Red Sea was higher than Egypt, and that if the whole of the intervening isthmus were cut through, the country would be overflowed by the sea. The Ptolemaic kings, however, did cut through it, and placed locks upon the canal, so that they sailed, when they pleased, without obstruction into the outer sea, and back again (into the canal).

... "Near Arsinoë are situated in the recess of the Arabian Gulf towards Egypt, Heroopolis and Cleopatris; harbours, suburbs, many canals and lakes are also near. There also is the Phagroriopolite Nome, and the city of Phagroriopolis. The canal which empties itself into the Red Sea, begins at the village Phaccusa, to which the village of Philon is contiguous. The canal is 100 cubits broad, and its depth sufficient to float a vessel of large burden. These places are near the apex of the Delta."

¹ Blk. XVII, Chapter I, 25 Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, pp. 243-44. ⁴

² It is the modern Suez (*Ibid.* p. 243, n. 2).

³ Pharaoh Necho (*Ibid.* p. 244, n. 2).

Diodorus Seculus, who lived in the first century before Christ, thus refers to the canal: "They have made a canal of communication which goes from the Pelusiatic Gulf to the Red Sea. Necos, son of Psammeticus commenced it (and) Darius, king of Persia, continued the work; but he stopped it, following the advice of some Engineers, who told him, that on digging the ground, he will inundate Egypt which was found to be lower than the Red Sea. Ptolemy II. did not let the enterprise to be finished, but he got placed over the most favourable place in the canal, some very ingeniously contrived barriers or sluices which they open when they want to pass through and shut afterwards immediately. It is for this reason that the river takes the name of Ptolemy in the canal which empties itself in the sea at the place where the city of Arsinoë is built."¹

Pliny, while describing the Geography of the gulfs of the Red Sea, thus speaks on the subject of the canal

"We then come to the nation of the Tyri, and the port of the Danei, from which place an attempt has been made to form a navigable canal to the river Nile, at the spot where it enters the Delta previously mentioned, the distance between the river and the Red Sea being sixty-two miles. This was contemplated first of all by Sesostris, king of Egypt, afterwards by Darius, king of the Persians, and still later by Ptolemy II.,² who also made a canal, one hundred feet in width and forty deep, extending a distance of thirty-seven miles and a half, as far as the Bitter Springs. He was deterred from proceeding any further with this work by apprehensions of an inundation, upon finding that the Red Sea was three cubits³ higher than the land in the interior of Egypt. Some writers, however, do not allege this as the cause, but say that his reason was, a fear lest, in consequence of introducing the sea, the water of the Nile might be spoilt, that being the only source from which the Egyptians obtain water for drinking."⁴

• All the Classical authors, named above, have begun with the names of either Sesostris (Rameses II) or Neco. But, as said by Sir G. Wilkinson, the ruins on the bank of the old canal show, that the canal already existed in some form in the time of Rameses II. That being the case, the name of Seti I, who ruled before Rameses II, is

The omission of the name of Seti I by Classical Writers.

¹ I give my Translation from the French Translation of M. L'Abbé Terrasson (1753) *Tome Premier* pp. 54-55. Diodorus Seculus, Livre I, Section I, XIX. This portion of Diodorus is referred to by other writers as Bk. I, 33.

• ² Ptolemy Philadelphus, son of Ptolemy Soter or Lagides.

³ 4½ feet

⁴ Pliny, Natural History, Bk. VI, Chap. 33. Bostock and Riley's Translation, Vol. II, p. 92.

suggested on the authority of recent discoveries as that of the first Egyptian king, who may have possibly built at least a part of the canal. M. Maspero refers to a monument of this kind.¹

The summary of the different statements of the different Classical Authors.

We see from the above statements of the different Classical authors, that they vary, as to who it was who first successfully completed the canal. Their different statements can be summed up as follows :—

Herodotus.—(a) Neco (about B. C. 615) attempted the construction of the canal. About 12,000 Egyptians died on the work. At last he desisted from further work in consequence of an oracle which said that he was labouring for the barbarian..

(b) Darius completed the canal, of which the length was 4 days' journey, and width sufficient to admit two triremes abreast. The water of the Nile was admitted at Bubastis.

Aristotle.—Sesostris planned the canal.

Strabo.—(a) Sesostris (Rameses II) planned it.

(b) Some said Neco began it, but died before completing it.

(c) Darius succeeded to complete it, but desisted to open it on account of the erroneous opinion that the level of the Red Sea was higher than the land of Egypt.

(d) Ptolemaic kings cut it, using locks to prevent inundation from the Red Sea.

Diodorus Siculus.—(a) Neco commenced it.

(b) Darius continued it, but desisted through fear, lest the Red Sea, being higher in level, may run over the country.

(c) Ptolemy II finished it with sluices. From his name the canal is called Ptolemy's canal.

Pliny —(a) Sesostris contemplated it.

(b) Then Darius contemplated it.

(c) Ptolemy made the canal 100 feet in width, 40 feet in depth, 37½ miles in length. But he was deterred from opening it through the fear of (a) inundating the country and (b) spoiling the water of the Nile.

¹ "Un monument du temps de Seti Ier nous montre le canal en activité dès avant Rameses II. Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient par Maspero, Septième édition of 1905, p. 270, n. 7.

V

All the vestiges of the canal of Darius, referred to by Herodotus, Strabo and Diodorus, having been lost, some began to doubt the statements. For example though Herodotus has distinctly stated that Darius had built the canal, subsequent classical authors, though admitting that he built it, added, that he desisted from completing it through some fear of inundating the country with the water of the Nile. Again, as late as 1851, the translators of Strabo—Hamilton and Falconer—said: "About a century after Necho Darius, the son of Hystaspes made the undertaking but desisted under the false impression that the level of the Red Sea was higher than that of the Mediterranean."

As to the question—who was the very first king of Egypt who first dug the Suez Canal completely or to speak more correctly who first completed the connection of the Red and the Mediterranean seas—the statements of different classical scholars vary—as seen above.

Sir J. G. Wilkinson thus explains the divergence of statements—
 "Herodotus says Neco (or Necos) began the canal, and Strabo attributes it to Psammiticus his son' but the ruins on its banks show that it already existed in the time of Remeses II. and that the statement of Aristotle, Strabo and Pliny, who ascribe its commencement at least to Sesostrius is founded on fact. That from its sandy site it would require frequent re-excavating is very evident and these successive operations may have given to the different king by whom they were performed the credit of *commencing* the canal. It is certainly inconsistent to suppose that the Egyptians (who of all the people had the greatest experience in making canals, and who even to the late time of Nero, were the people consulted about cutting through the isthmus of Corinth Iudæa) should have been obliged to wait for its completion till the accession of the Ptolemies. The authority of Herodotus suffices to prove that it was completed in his time to the Red Sea, and the monuments of Remeses at a town on its banks prove that it existed in his reign. Neco may have discontinued the re-opening of it, Darius may have completed it, as Herodotus states, both here (Book II, 158) and in Book IV, Chap. 39 and it may have been re-opened and improved by the Ptolemies and again by the Arabs."

1. The Geography of Strabo translated by Hamilton and Falconer (1854) p. 61 n. 1.

2. Rawlinson's Herodotus Vol. II p. 247 n. 4.

Or Ramses II.

The so-called difficulty of sluices. M. Ménant also meets the doubts raised on the ground of the want of sufficient engineering skill in the time of Darius. He says :

“ When we can prove to-day the existence of great works of canalization which have been accomplished since the 20th century before Jesus Christ in Egypt and Chaldea, one cannot say that the engineers of the time of Darius did not know the process of the sluices.”¹

Some Classical writers subsequent to Herodotus said, that Darius left the canal unfinished on account of the difficulty of the level of the Red Sea being higher than that of the land where the canal ran. The same difficulty is said to have, later on, deterred Ptolemy from completing it. The difficulty was not real, and even if it existed, it was one which could be easily surmounted in those times which were not without their irrigation experts. Wilkinson thus disposes of this supposed difficulty.

“ The difference of 13 feet between the levels of the Red Sea and Mediterranean is now proved to be an error. Pliny says, that Ptolemy desisted from the work, finding the Red Sea was 3 cubits ($4\frac{1}{2}$ feet) higher than the land of Egypt ; but, independent of our knowing that it was already finished in Herodotus' time, it is obvious that a people accustomed to sluices, and every contrivance necessary for water of various levels, would not be deterred by this, or a far greater, difference in the height of the sea and the Nile, and Diodorus expressly states that sluices were constructed at its mouth. If so, these were on account of the different levels, which varied materially at high and low Nile, and at each tide, of 5 to 6 feet, in the Red Sea, and to prevent the sea-water from tainting that of the canal. The city of Eels, Phagroriopolis, was evidently founded on its banks to insure the maintenance of the canal. The place of the sluices appears to be traceable near Suez, where a channel in the rock has been cut, to form the mouth of the canal.”²

We saw above, that according to different Classical authors, the Red Sea was connected by different kings with the Mediterranean through the Nile. But it was not at the same place on the Nile that the different kings connected the canal with the river. Sir J. G. Wilkinson says on this point :

¹ Lorsque nous pouvons constater aujourd'hui les grands travaux de canalisation qui ont été accomplis dès le XX^e siècle av. J. C. en Égypte et en Chaldée, on ne saurait dire que les ingénieurs de l'époque de Darius ne connaissent pas les procédés des écluses ? (La Stèle de Chalouf, p. 10).

² Sir J. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 243, n. 4

"The commencement of the Red Sea Canal was in different places at various periods. In the time of Herodotus, it left the Pelusiatic branch, a little above Bubastis; it was afterwards supplied with water by the Amnis Trajanus, which left the Nile at Babylon (near old Cairo), and the portion of it that remains now begins a short distance from Belbays, which is about 11 miles south of Bubastis. Strabo must be wrong in saying it was at Phacusa, which is too low down the stream."¹

VI.

Let us here take a brief look into the history of the ancient ruling dynasties of Egypt, so that we may thereby better understand the times of the different builders and repairers of the Canal. Leaving aside the very remote periods, Egypt was governed, about 2,000 years before the Christian era, by a line of kings, known as "the Shepherd Kings, who belonged to the shepherd tribes that had gone to Egypt from Chaldea and Phœnicia. They founded the 17th dynasty of the rulers of Egypt. Rameses II, supposed to be known as Sesostris by the Greeks, ruled in the 14th century before Christ. He belonged to the 19th dynasty. He is said to have made an attempt to convert the Mediterranean and the Red seas *via* a branch of the Nile, but failed. Neco, who was more successful in building the canal, ruled in Egypt in the 7th century B. C. His canal began at Bubastis and finished at Heroopolis upto which the Red Sea then ran. His canal is said to have still left some traces of its existence.

The Persians formed the 27th ruling dynasty of Egypt.² Cyrus the Great, who fought against, and subdued, Cræsus of Lydia, was enraged against Amasis II, of Egypt, because he had sympathised with Cræsus. So, his son Cambyses, who was known by the Egyptians as Mesutris Kambathet, invaded Egypt, to avenge the wrong done to his father. He conquered Egypt and became the first king of the 27th dynasty. The ancient town of Cambyse, situated on the Gulf of Suez, derived its name for Cambyses, because he founded the city to keep there the invalids of his army.³ His policy in Egypt was, like that of his father Cyrus, that of toleration. He got his name written in the cartouche, a fact symbolising his sovereignty. After him, there ruled in Egypt his successors, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes; Darius II (Darius Nothas), Artaxerxes II. The Egyptians then overthrew the Persian rule and

¹ Sir J. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 243, n. 4.

² A History of the Egyptian people by Budge, p. 144. *Idem* pp. 144-49, for the Persian kings of Egypt.

³ Pliny's Bk. VI, Cnap 33. Bostock and Riley's Translation, Vol. II, p. 92.

became independent. After a few years, Artaxerxes III (Ochus), re-conquered Egypt in 340 B. C. Then, Alexander the Great defeated his successor Darius and conquered Egypt. Afterwards during the rule of the Romans, during the reign of Anastasius I (A. D. 491 to 518), the Persians again invaded Egypt (A. D. 502-5), but they did not remain there long. On being paid a ransom, they restored Egypt to Anastasius.

Mr. Dalton, while speaking of the influence of Persian Art upon the Western Byzantine Empire, says that "the Persians were the middlemen who traded with the Farther East; they introduced figured silk textiles into the Byzantine Empire."¹ But, it seems, that Persia supplied its people as middlemen in trade even before the flourishing times of the Byzantine Empire.

The Persians, the Middlemen between the West and the East.

Darius the Great, had a great hand in making Persians the middlemen in trade with the Farther East. He was the first Persian monarch who aimed at the advancement of the knowledge of Geography during his various military expeditions. He had ordered his admiral, Scylax, to sail down the Indus from Cashmere and Punjab to the Arabian Sea and then to sail across the coast to Persia. This exploring naval expedition seems to have had for its object the development of trade between India and the West.

Thus, it is natural that Darius, wanting to develop trade between the East and the West, should undertake the work of a great canal in his newly conquered country of Egypt.

Some writers say, that Ptolemy II (about B. C. 270) was the first Egyptian king, who completed the canal. We see from our above examination of the statements of old Classical authors, that this is not correct. As said by M. Ménant, he only repaired the canal which had fallen out of use by being filled up with silt. There was a further change before his time in the geographical condition of that part of the Red Sea, and that change had led to its disuse. When Queen Cleopatra (about B. C. 30) wanted to take her ships down the Red Sea through the canal, she could not do so, as the canal was silted up.

The Romans. The Canal in the times of Trajan and Hadrian.

The canal, as completed by Darius and repaired by Ptolemy II (Ptolemy Philadelphus) and by some subsequent rulers of Egypt, existed in the times of the Roman Emperors Trajan (A. D. 98-117) and Hadrian (A. D. 117-138).

¹ "Byzantine Art and Archæology," by O. M. Dalton, p. 54.

The canal, which was open till the time of the Roman occupation of Egypt, was latterly silted. The silt was removed and the canal was repaired and re-opened by Caliph Omar, who saw the necessity of doing so, in order to send Egyptian corn to Arabia. His services in this direction were recognized by the Mahomedan community by conferring upon him the title of Amiru-'l-mu' minin, *i.e.*, Commander of the Faithful. This title, enjoyed by all the subsequent Khalifs, had an origin in this event. Omar got this work done in Hijri 20, *i.e.*, 640 A. D. through Amron-Ben Al.-As.¹

The Calips. The canal in the times of Calips Omar and Al-Mansour Abou Gafer.

One Caliph re-opened the canal for feeding his co-religionists, and another Caliph closed it for starving his co-religionists who happened to oppose him. It is said, that the second Abasside Caliph al-Mansour Abou Gafer or Abou-Giafer-al-Mansour, who ruled in Persia, got this canal closed in 770 A.D. about 134 years after Caliph Omar. He had a quarrel with one of the descendants of Ali, who possessed Medina. This descendant drew his supply of corn from Egypt *via* this canal. The Caliph therefore asked his Governor in Egypt to close the canal, so that no grain could go from Egypt through the canal to Medina. The canal thus filled up has never been re-opened and the subsequent ravages of time and weather have left only traces here and there of its former existence. One last attempt was latterly made to make it navigable. That was done by Al-Hakim in A. D. 1000. This was done for a passage of small boats, but that even, not along the whole line to the Red Sea. Mahomed Ali² shut it up altogether.⁴

The old Arabian name of Suez was Soea.⁵ Later Mahomedan authors speak of the Gulf of Suez as Bahr-el-Soueys, *i.e.*, the Sea of Suez.⁶ The old Greek name of the city whose site is now occupied by modern Suez was Arsinoe.⁷

The Arabian and Mahomedan names of Suez.

¹ Sir J. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 243, n. 4. La Stèle de Chalouf, par M. Ménant, p. 11.

² La Stèle de Chalouf, par M. Ménant, p. 10. Sir J. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 243, n. 4.

³ Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 243, n. 4.

⁴ The above Caliph Al-Mansour Abou Gafer seems to be the Abu Jafer of the Pahlavi Shatros-hâ-Arân (s. 60) *Vide* my Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarrân, Shatros-hâ-Airun, &c., p. 121.

⁵ Pliny, Bk. VI, Chap. 33. Bostock and Riley's Translation, Vol. II, p. 92.

⁶ Pliny, Bostock and Riley's Edition, Vol. I, p. 423, n. 1.

⁷ Pliny, Bk. v, Chap. 13. *Ibid.* p. 423, n. 6.

VII.

We have referred above to some recent scholars who have tried to explain the divergence between Herodotus and other classical writers, and who have replied to the objections raised against the successful attempts of Darius. We will now refer to some recent discoveries of the stelæ or pillars of king Darius near the site of the modern canal, which settle, once for all, the doubts about the statement of Herodotus, *vis.*, that Darius had completed the canal.

It was the practice of the Achæmenian Kings of Persia to inscribe on stones some events of their reign. The oldest inscription of that kind hitherto discovered is that of Cyrus the Great, the founder of the dynasty, and the latest is that of Artaxerxes Ochus.

Darius the Great was most known for such inscriptions. He inscribed both on the sides of mountains and on columns. Among his mountain inscriptions, the best known is that on the rock of the mountain Behistun [*lit.* the place (*stana*) of God (*baga*)], a rock rising perpendicularly from the plain to a height of about 1,700 ft. In this inscription, he gives, as it were, his short autobiography, describing the principal events of his reign. He was fond of erecting stelæ or pillars in the countries which he conquered. On these pillars he inscribed the principal deeds which he accomplished. For example, we learn from Herodotus, that during his expedition against Scythia, in his march to the Istri, he built his pillars on the Bosphorus. Herodotus¹ says: "He likewise surveyed the Bosphorus, and erected upon its shores two pillars of white marble, whereupon he inscribed the names of all the nations which formed his army,—on the one pillar in Greek, on the other in Assyrian characters."²

¹ Bk. IV, 87, Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 80.

² Herodotus mistakes the Persian for Assyrian. George Rawlinson corrects him in his following observations: "It was natural that the Persians who set up trilingual inscriptions in the central provinces for the benefit of their Arian, Semetic, and Tatar populations, should leave bilingual records in other places. Thus in Egypt they would have their inscriptions in the hieroglyphic as well as the Persian character, of which the vase in St. Mark's, at Venice, is a specimen. In Greece they would use, besides their own, the Greek language and character. Herodotus, however, is no doubt inaccurate when he speaks here of *Assyrian* letters. The language and character used in the inscription would be the Persian, and not the Assyrian. But as moderns, till recently, have been accustomed to speak of the *cuneiform language*, not distinguishing between one sort of cuneiform writing and another, so, Herodotus appears to have been ignorant that in the arrow-headed inscriptions which he saw, both the letters and the languages varied. There are, in point of fact, at least six different types of cuneiform writing, *vis.*, the old Scythic, Babylonian, the Susianian, the Armenian, the Scythic of the trilingual tablets, the Assyrian, and the Achæmenian Persian. Of these the first four are to a certain extent connected; but the Assyrian and Achæmenian Persian differ totally from them and from each other (Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 80, n. 5).

"... Some time afterwards, the Byzantines removed these pillars to their own city, and used them for an altar which they erected to Orthesian Diana.¹ One block remained behind : it lay near the temple of Bacchus at Byzantium and was covered with Assyrian writing. The spot where Darius bridged the Bosphorus was, I think, but I speak only from conjecture, half way between the city of Byzantium and the temple at the mouth of the strait.

" Darius was so pleased with the bridge thrown across the strait by the Samian Mandrocles, that he not only bestowed upon him all the customary presents, but gave him ten of every kind. Mandrocles, by way of offering first fruits from these presents, caused a picture to be painted which showed the whole of the bridge, with King Darius sitting in a seat of honour and his army engaged in the passage. This painting he dedicated in the temple of Juno at Samos, attaching to it the inscription following : —

'The fish-fraught Bosphorus bridged, to Juno's fane
Did Mandrocles this proud memorial bring ;
When for himself a crown he'd, skill to gain,
For Samos praise, contesting the Great King.'

Such was the memorial of his work which was left by the architect of the bridge."

Following his above practice, Darius had erected several pillars in Egypt to commemorate his achievement of digging successfully the canal connecting the Red and the Mediterranean seas. Relics of several such monuments were found near the modern Suez Canal. M. Ménant, in his learned and interesting paper, entitled, *La Stèle de Chalouf*, refers to their discoveries.

It was in 1799, that a pillar was for the first time discovered by M. Rozière on the north of Suez, at about 6½ hours' march from it. M. Rozière had, when he saw the pillar, copied as a specimen a few words of the inscription. These words read : *Daryavus Khshâyathiya vazarka, i.e., Darius the great king.*

M. Devilliers, who accompanied M. Rozière in the expedition to Egypt from France, had come across the relic of another Parseipolitan pillar near Serapium.

¹ "That is, Diana, who had established or preserved their City." (*Ibid* n. 6.)

For nearly more than half a century, the subject of the discovery of the Parseipolitan monuments of Darius near the present canal was forgotten. But in 1866, it was again revived. The operations of M. Lesseps for digging the modern canal, the rough idea of which was first conceived by Napoleon I, revived the subject.

The discovery of the third monument of Darius in the canal. The pillar of Chalouf.

In March 1866, the attention of M. Charles de Lesseps, the son of M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, was, while looking after the work of digging the present Suez Canal, drawn to a Parseipolitan monument near the village of Chalouf. He sent a sketch of one of the stones of the monument, drawn by the Suez Canal Company's doctor, M. Terrier, to Paris, to M. Mariette, who thereupon asked for further information and particulars. So, M. Fred. de Lesseps sent his son Charles de Lesseps with the Canal Company's two other officers to the spot to make further researches. M. Charles de Lesseps carried on the work of excavation. He found that some of the blocks of stone were blackened by fire, which some one had, at one time, ignited under the shadow of the pillar. He found some blocks with cuneiform inscriptions and some with Egyptian hieroglyphics. He took to the village of Chalouf those blocks that could be easily carried and covered again with earth those, about 15, that could not be carried away easily, so that they may be preserved from destruction.

M. Mariette then sent M. Luigi Vassalli to take prints or stamps of the fragments that were collected and to make further report after further observations.

In June 1866, M. Fred. de Lesseps communicated to M. Mariette the discovery of the relics of two other Parseipolitan monuments, one of which was near Serapim.

In July 1887, M. E. Naville communicated to M. Ménant the news of the discovery of another monument at Tell-el-Maskhutah, about 18 kilometers from Ismailia.

Thus we have in all references to six monuments. But M. Ménant thinks that the one referred to by M. Fred de Lesseps, as found at Serapim, is, perhaps, the same as that referred to above, as found by M. Devilliers in about 1799. From the different positions of the monuments, M. Ménant thinks, that Darius's monuments were on both the banks of his canal. Writing in 1887, about 20 years after the discovery of the monuments seen by M. Fred. de Lesseps while digging the Suez Canal, M. Ménant expressed a fear, that the monuments may not

be in the same condition, as they were in, when seen in 1866. Now in 1915 their condition must be much more worse.

Of all these, the one found at Chalouf, was the only one which had, when discovered, presented itself in a comparatively pretty good state to be examined and deciphered. Its condition at present must be perhaps bad. Some of the fragments of this column are, as said above, preserved at the village of Chalouf, but of others that were again covered over with sand by M. F. de Lessep's, one cannot say what their present condition is.

The discovery of the monument of Chalouf has a historical value, because its inscription determines the question, whether Darius had successfully completed the canal or not. Herodotus said, that he did. As said above, as he had travelled in Egypt a few years after the death of Darius, he must have seen the canal working. So, his statement must be authoritative. But the statements of other classical writers after him threw some doubts upon the veracity of his assertion. This inscription, which commemorates Darius's work of the canal, confirms the statement of Herodotus and decides the question that Darius did complete the canal successfully.

VIII.

M. Mènant has given in his paper, *La Stèle de Chalouf*, the Text of the Inscription, as deciphered by him, from the sketch received in Paris. I give here the translation from his French translation :

"Ormuzd is a great God ; He has created the Heaven ; He has created this Earth ; He has created Man ; He has given to man good principle (*Siatish*) ; He has made Darius king ; He has given to king Darius a great Empire.

"I am Darius, great king, king of kings, king of these countries (well populated), king of this vast land, who commands afar and near, son of Hystaspes of the Achimeneses.

"Darius, the king, says : I am a Parsi (Persian) ; (As a) Persian, I govern Egypt. I have ordered to dig this canal starting from the Nile ; it is the name of the river which runs in Egypt up to the sea which comes from Persia.

"Thus the canal has been dug here.

I have ordered this canal and I have said : Commence from . . . this canal up to the shores of the sea . . . Such is my wish."

The latter part of the inscription is much mutilated. But the first part is well preserved. It appears, that this first

An Avesta parallel of a part of the inscription. part of the inscription of this great worshipper of Ahura Mazda is in line with a passage of the Avesta. The first part of the inscription on the monument, as given by M. Ménant, runs thus :

Baga vazarka Aura mazdaâ hiya açmânam adâ hya inâm bumim adaâ hya martiyam adâ

Translation.—Ormuzd is a great God. He has created the Heaven. He has created this Earth. He has created Man.

Now compare this with the following words of yaçna (Chap. XXXVII, 1,) which form the daily Parsee prayer to say grace at meals.

Ithâ ât yazamaidê Ahurem Mazdâm yé gâmchâ ashemchâ dât apaschâ dât uravrâoschâ vanghuhish raochaschâ dât bumimchâ vispâchâ vôhû.

Translation.—We thus invoke here Ahura Mazda, who created animals and corn, who created water, good trees and light, who created earth and all good things.

IX.

I have referred above to the help given by the Lesseps, father and son, to the cause of the discovery of the monuments of Darius. It was while working at the excavation of the present Canal, that they and the other officers of the Suez Canal Company came across the relics of the monuments. So, I will finish my paper by a very brief account of the present successful attempt of the Suez Canal, hoping that it would interest many at the present juncture of war, when the Canal is one of the seats of fight between the belligerents.

Napoleon Bonaparte, who is spoken of as semi-Alexander for his attempts and aims at what is now spoken of as

The first conception of the Modern Canal by Napoleon. World-empire, was drawn towards Egypt by well-nigh the same view with which Alexander the Great and Darius the Great were drawn, *vis.*, to be master of the East as well as of the West.

It is said, that it was he (Napoleon), who first conceived the idea of connecting the Mediterranean and the Red seas by a canal of the

modern type. At the end of the 18th century, he had asked M. Lepire, a great Engineer, to submit a scheme, but that movement had no result. It is now said, that, even had Napoleon succeeded in digging the Suez Canal, his enterprize would have been a great financial failure, because his were the times of sailing ships, which would not have dared to withstand the difficulties of the shoals, calms and contrary winds met with in the canal. They were not the times of steamers which have the steam power to control these difficulties. The old route between Europe and India, *vis.*, that *via* the Cape of Good Hope was 11,739 miles, but the present route *via* the Suez Canal is 7,628 miles. Still, the sailing ships of Napoleon's time would have preferred the long circuitous way of the Cape of Good Hope to the comparative more risky passage of the Suez Canal.

For various reasons Napoleon's conception of the canal did not take any practical shape. In 1830, General Chesney of England is said to have made a favourable report of the practicability of the canal, and said, that it can be built by any one nation. But it was left to M. Lesseps to undertake the work. He matured the scheme during the period of 1849 to 1854. On 30th November 1854, Mahomed Said, the then Pasha or Khedive of Egypt, asked M. Lesseps to form a Commission to float a Universal Suez Canal Company.

M. Lesseps appointed a Commission of Engineers to design the Canal, and of Directors to float the Company. The Commission met in 1855 and finished its work in 1856. They considered over the different systems of canals.

Modern Canals are of three kinds :—

- “(a) Canals with locks to raise boats from one level to another.
- (b) Canals in low-lying districts with an uniform level from one end to another. When connected with the sea, they have works at both ends defending them against encroachments by the sea.
- (c) Canals without locks and having unchecked communication with the sea.”

The Suez Canal, as it is constructed now, is of the third class. It draws its water both from the Mediterranean and the Red seas, whose levels are nearly equal.

The English Engineers of the above Commission preferred the first class, *vis.*, one with locks, suggesting that the canal itself may be about 25 feet above the sea level. The foreign engineers preferred the

third class, suggesting the level of 27 feet below sea level. In June 1856, the recommendation of the foreign Engineers was approved. When the Company was floated, half the number of shares were taken by the Pasha (Khedive) of Egypt. The other half were taken by others, among whom the principal portion was held by the French. The work commenced in 1860. Among the conditions arranged with the Pasha, were the following :—

- “(a) That side by side with the canal there must be built a fresh water canal for the workmen.
- (b) That the Pasha was to supply forced labour for the canal.
- (c) That the land on the banks of the canal may belong to the Company.”

After the work commenced, the Pasha of Egypt asked Sir John Hawkshaw to make a report on the work, but he died before the report came in. He was succeeded by Ismail Padsha, who refused to confirm the concessions made by his predecessor. Lord Palmerston had no liking for the Canal. So, it is possible, that he suggested the refusal. The reason of Palmerston's opposition to the canal was this : If the canal was built, Britain, as the principal Power trading with the East, would be the most interested party in the work of the canal. That interest would lead to some kind of interference in the affairs of Egypt. That interference may lead to friction with France. Later events showed that Palmerston's fears were true to some extent.

The dispute between the new Pasha and the Canal Company was referred to the arbitration of the French Emperor, Napoleon III, who decided, that as a return for the withdrawal of the concessions, the Company may be given a sum of about £900,000.

Later on, when the Canal was finished and began working pretty well, Lord Salisbury saw the necessity of having a great hand in the administration of the canal. So, he quietly worked in the matter and purchased a large number of shares from Egypt.

The Suez Canal, both ancient and modern, is, from the point of view of the sandy desert tract through which it passed and passes, a great engineering work. But otherwise its construction is simple. It is about 100 miles in length. It has an average depth of about 26 feet. Its width is about 72 feet at the bottom, and 200 to 300 at its topmost banks. On an average it takes about 16 hours to cross it.

ART. IX.—*The Hot Springs of the Ratnagiri District.*

By

HAROLD H. MANN

AND

S. R. PARANJPYE.

Contributed.

1.

Our attention was first called to the existence of a series of hot springs at or near the foot of the Sahyadri range in Western India by a letter by Dr. V. J. Shirgaonkar of Belgaum, in *the Times of India* of August 19th, 1909. It was at once evident that the attempt to investigate the whole of these as to their source, the character of their water, their temperature, and other matters in connection with them was far too big a task for us to undertake. Nor was it necessary, for the investigation of some of the properties of those in the Thana district and to the north of this had been already undertaken recently by Steichen and Sierp,^o the first instalment of their very interesting results being published in 1911, and the second in 1913. We resolved, however, to attempt to ascertain all that we could of the springs in the Ratnagiri District, the most southern section, in fact, of the remarkable line of springs extending from Rajapur in the South (Lat. 16° 38') to near Surat at the village of Anaval in the North (Lat. 20° 52'). Inasmuch as Dr. Shirgaonkar's letter was the starting point of our investigations, it may be well to quote it here as a whole before passing on to the special consideration of our section of the subject. Dr. Shirgaonkar wrote as follows :—

“ In Colaba Zilla there is one spring near Nagothna near the Fort of Rali, and four near Mahad, three at Sov and one at Kondviti. The waters of these springs smell of sulphur and their temperature is about 109° F. They all have stone cisterns. In Ratnagiri Zilla there are many thermal springs. In Dapoli district there are two, in Rajapur one, at Baragaum there are about forty and at Aravli there is one. These springs at Baragaum have no cisterns, but that at Aravli has. These latter two villages are in Sangameshwar Taluka. At Aravli there is a temple near the spring. These springs are a short

distance from the main roads, and have a charming scenery. They strongly smell of sulphur and can be smelt from some distance. Their temperature varies from 110° F. to 212° F. In some springs eggs can be poached and rice boiled.

"There is one hot spring at Rajapur. It falls from a height of about four feet from the side of a hillock. Its temperature is about 110° F. Poor people of this town always bathe at this fountain, to save the expense of fuel. There is a traveller's bungalow and three dharamshalas near it and more are going to be built. The scenery all round is beautiful. This is considered to be a holy place. Besides this spring there are about twelve erratic springs of ordinary fresh water, which are supposed to be springs from the Holy Ganges of Benares. People think that they suddenly disappear when any sinful man comes to bathe there. There are local legends about the hot and the erratic springs.

"The waters of all these hot springs taste insipid and sulphury while warm, but when cool they lose the smell and taste like ordinary water. As to the therapeutics of the waters of these springs they regulate the bowels, increase appetite and the action of kidneys and skin. Uses : Chronic rheumatism, dyspepsia, chronic constipation, incipient cases of tuberculosis, some skin diseases especially scabies are cured by these waters.

"I sent some patients to Rajapur and Sangameshwar and they were much benefited. They used to bathe in these waters and drink them too.

"In order to popularise these springs I advised some Bombay gentlemen suffering from chronic rheumatism to try them ; but they prefer the nasty mixtures of chemists, to these pure medicated springs of nature. Men are blind and are led by fashion. Till some metropolitan fashionable doctors send some of their rich patients to these places these springs must run to waste."

II.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the hot springs of the Ratnagiri district is the fact that they are so little known. There are a few old references to them, summarised in Oldham's list of the Thermal Springs of India*, but since that time little has been done. We will reserve remarks as to individual springs until we deal with each of them, but the following two or three older references to the springs as a whole will be found interesting.

* Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XIX, 1882.

In 1846 Newbold writing in Scotland on * “the temperature of inter-tropical springs and rivers,” and making some remarks on the investigations of Duncan (to be referred to later) wrote as follows :—

“Since my arrival here my friend Malcolmson has put into my hands the first volume of the Bombay Medical and Physical Transactions where I find, (p. 257) a few notes on the Thermal Springs of the Konkan, by A. Duncan, Esq. The geographical distribution of these springs corroborate the remark in my paper, under the head of thermal springs, *viz.*, ‘That the majority of the springs termed thermal occur in India at or near lines of great faults.’ The thermal springs mentioned by Mr. Duncan lie at the base of the Western Ghat elevation, intermediate between the mountains and the sea, generally from sixteen to twenty-four miles, or thereabout, inland from the latter. The line of springs follows pretty nearly that of the mountains, *viz.*, nearly North and South : and extend from the vicinity of Surat, or about 21° N. Lat. to South Rajapur. They are supposed to exist still further south, following at irregular intervals, the line of West Ghats to Ceylon. Not less than twelve are known to exist between Dasgaum and South Rajapur, *viz.* . .

- 4 at Oonale in the taluka of Viziadroog.
- 3 in the Ratnagiri taluk, at Rajwaree, Toorul & Sungmarry.
- 1 at Arowlee, in the Konedree taluk.
- 1 at Mat, Hatkumbee Mahal.
- 1 at Oonale, Jaffrabad Mahal.
- 1 at Savi, in the Ryghur taluk, Bhar Nergannah.
- 1 at Oonale, Sankee taluk, Mahal Salee.

“Oonale is the native term for a hot spring. The temperature of all the springs examined exceeded, with a single exception, 100° F., and amounted to 109°. That of Toorul, which, unfortunately was not thermometrically ascertained, appeared to Mr. Duncan to be almost at the boiling point. The water was not found to be mineral, though impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen. A little higher up, in the hill where the thermal spring No. 1 occurs, is a single intermittent cold spring, over which a temple has been built. It is resorted to by crowds of Hindoos, during the season when the fountain periodically flows, *viz.*, during the hot months. A more minute analysis of the water, and

* Edinburgh New Philosophical Transactions, 1846, page 114-115.

a more continued series of thermometric observations, are a great desideratum."

We can find no further general discussion of these Western India springs until the appearance of Oldham's paper, already referred to, in 1882. Before giving details as to each spring known to him, he made general remarks as follows :—

"At intervals along the base of the great range of cliffs known as the Western Ghats, which stretch almost continuously along the Western coast of the Peninsula from Surat, north of Bombay, to Belgaum, and are continued further to the south, though in a more broken range of high ground, a large number of copious hot springs rise in the comparatively flat ground, known as the Konkan or Kokan, which forms a narrow belt between the Ghats and the sea. Generally speaking, these springs lie about 20 miles (from 12 to 24) from the coast, and a little further from the hills which rise on the east. They occur both as single isolated springs, and in groups of springs, where several issue within a circle of small radius.

"Of these the most southerly known to me is Rajapur. I say the most southerly known to me, because I find many marked far to the south of this on Greenough's sketch map of the Geology of India ; but I have not succeeded in finding any description of these, while the general inaccuracy of the map prevents any confidence being placed in such references."

The Bombay Gazetteer, to which we are accustomed to turn for authoritative information on questions of this sort, is very unsatisfactory on the subject of these springs. All it states is the following, which, it will be seen, is largely a series of quotations from Duncan :—

"Hot springs are found in various parts of the district. The line of springs runs half-way between the Sahyadri hills and the sea, and seems to stretch both north and south of the Ratnagiri district. Three villages, two in the Dapoli sub-division and one in Rajapur, have been named Unhala from their hot springs. There are similar springs near the towns of Khed and Sangameshwar and at the villages of Aravli and Tural in the Sangameshwar sub-division. The water of all these springs, as far as taste and smell form any test, seems strongly impregnated with sulphur. But Dr. A. Duncan, who in 1837 examined the water, came to a different conclusion. He writes : ' The water of these wells is, so far as I could ascertain, to the taste both insipid and

sulphury. Does this latter result from its insipidity, for I can find no trace of sulphur in it, nor of iron, nor of alkali, nor of iodine, nor of anything? And when it has been cooled and freely exposed to the air, it becomes a pleasant and a healthy water to drink. It would seem to be simply boiled water yet it may contain foreign ingredients, although with my limited means, I have been unable to discover them.' (Trans. Bom. Med. and Phy. Soc. I, 259). The temperature of the water varies in different springs from 100° to almost the boiling point (212°), and at Tural the experiment of poaching an egg has been successfully performed. Cisterns have been built to enclose most of the hot springs. Dr. Duncan remarks that 'One of these wells was formerly much frequented for a variety of ailments, cutaneous, dyspeptic, and rheumatic. As a bath, the water affords a remedy of great power in several forms of rheumatism. It excites the appetite, and is therefore serviceable in some forms of dyspepsia. I have also observed cases of debility, without lesion or apparent disease beyond perhaps a want of relish for food considerably benefited. I am less acquainted with the effects produced on cutaneous ailments, but on some of these, I infer, a bath of this sort cannot be otherwise than beneficial.' The water is still much used for bathing and washing clothes, but is not regarded by the natives as having any special sanctity. The springs appear to be perpetual, and are no doubt the remains of volcanic activity."

Little can be obtained from these accounts except to show the existence of a series of hot springs about half-way from the Sahyadri range to the sea, of very varying temperature, possibly containing sulphur, though this is doubtful, with reputed medical qualities in certain cases. The composition of none of them is ascertained: the method of occurrence, whether uniform or otherwise, is not referred to: their general relationship to rivers or other natural phenomena is not indicated, and we are left with a doubt as to whether we are dealing with a series of occurrences of different or of similar type. We will try and consider these general questions after giving the results of our examination of each individual spring.

III.

The number of springs is larger than has hitherto been stated. Oldham catalogues eight springs or series of springs. We have seen all that he refers to, and two or three other ones, and we do not flatter ourselves that we have seen all of them even now. Those which we have found and examined are now described, commencing from the most southerly at Rajapur.

RAJAPUR HOT SPRING.

Latitude $16^{\circ} 38\frac{1}{2}'$ N. Longitude $73^{\circ} 34\frac{1}{2}'$ E.

Two rivers, both running from the Western Ghats to the sea, meet at Rajapur, and there become tidal. The more southerly of these is the Savinda, and it is on the south bank of this river, about one and-a-half mile to the east of Rajapur, in the village of Unhala, that the spring occurs (*vide* map in Plate I). It has often been described. Duncan (Trans. Med. Phys. Society of Bombay, Vol. I, 1838) refers to it and says: "There is only one hot spring. This is in the Viziadroog taluk, 20 miles from the Ghats and 12 miles from the sea." Hazlewood (Trans. Geog. Soc. Bombay X, 1852) states: "Water issues out of the mouth of a stone cow, and falls into a small tank." The Bombay Gazetteer refers to it as follows:—

"The hot spring mentioned by Hamilton at the foot of the hill about a mile from the town of Rajapur is still, for its virtue in curing rheumatic and skin diseases, much frequented by natives. The water from the side of the hill, about 300 yards from the south bank of the river, flows into a ten feet square stone-paved cistern, and thence through a short pipe ending in a stone cow's head, pours in a full stream into the river. With a temperature of about 120° the water has no special taste or smell." (Trans. Bom. Geo. Soc. VII, 159, 1846.)

Except the general description in the Gazetteer and by Dr. Shirgaonkar already given, these seem to be all the accounts given of this spring.

The spring seems to have been known from prehistoric times, and is said to be referred to as *joala kund* in the so-called *Medini Puran*. It lies about twenty paces from the south bank of the Savinda river, and originally issues from a crack or a series of cracks in trap rock. Many years ago, however, the original outlet, at the bottom of a well, was covered over, and a stone pipe carried from the side into a stone built square cistern, where people can and do bathe, and where the water flows from the mouth of a stone cow as described by Hazlewood (*vide supra*). In time the exact location of the original spring was forgotten, and when we had the latter opened, a good deal of difficulty was experienced in locating the exact site. It was finally discovered, however, and the character of the spring found. The well was nine feet deep. The top two feet were circular in shape, but below that point the water rose in a narrow oblong slit running E. and W. The bottom, in which the crack occurred, was composed of irregular black trap-rock. The whole was covered with a stone cover, from just below which the stone channel to the cistern, about eight feet away,

led the water into the cistern aforementioned. This was apparently last repaired in 1879 A.D. and an inscription in Marathi, as follows, above the outlet refers to this repair :

श्री राम

शके १८०१ प्रमाथी० कार्तिक शु० १ दिनी हिंदू लोकांचे उष्णोदक तीर्थाचा जीर्णोद्धार गंगापुत्र व राजापूर व घोपेश्वर येथील हिंदू सावकार लोकांनी केला असे.

The quantity of water which issues was measured, and found to be, in February 1912, about twelve gallons per minute. The volume of water is said to be unaffected by the season, and it gives no more water in the monsoon than at other times of the year. The man who last repaired the spring and made the present arrangements told us that its volume at that time (thirty years ago) was much greater than at present. This may be due to less water coming, but more probably is due to leakage from the masonry channel, leakage which was evidently occurring, as a second stream of water (at a temperature of 106° F.) was soaking between the stones on the south side of the cistern.

The temperature of the water as it falls into the cistern is remarkably constant, both at different times of the day and at different times of the year. In November 1911 careful records gave as follows :—

7-30 A.M.	...	...	...	...	109° F.
1-15 P.M.	...	...	...	...	109° F.
6 P.M.	..	...	...	...	109° F.

In the following February the same temperature exactly was obtained.

The water, though it had the smell which is usually connected with the presence of sulphuretted hydrogen, was perfectly free from this substance. It gave no blackening with a solution of lead acetate either in acid or alkaline solution, but a bright piece of copper became slightly stained when it remained several hours in it. It was organically fairly pure, and after evaporation the residue remained without any appreciable blackening on heating. The actual figures of analysis in this respect were as follows :—

Free Ammonia	...	...	...	...	00026 parts per 100,000
Albuminoid Ammonia	...	...	...	...	0092 " "
Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes	...	032	...	...	" "
" " in 4 hours	...	083	...	...	" "

Particular interest centered in the salts contained in the water, which was analysed on two occasions—May 1911 and February 1912. The total solid matter contained in the water was very small, far less than in any other of the hot springs in the district, and amounted to (1) 36.00 and (2) 37.00 parts per 100,000 on the two occasions quoted.

The nature of the mineral constituents is shown in the following analyses :—

	November 1911.	February 1912.
Total solid matter containing	36.0 parts per 100,000.	37.0 parts per 100,000.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Calcium... ..	8.2	7.1
Magnesium '	7.9	8.0
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)...	4.6	20.5
Chlorine (Cl)	7.8	7.6
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃) ...	45.1	43.9
Alkalinity (as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃)	2.1	<i>Nil.</i>

In neither case were any nitrates present. Sulphuretted hydrogen was (as already stated) absent.

The water remained clear on standing, and gave no precipitate even after remaining open for three days (72 hours). When seventy litres of the water were concentrated to two and-a-half litres, the water (in November 1911) became strongly alkaline.

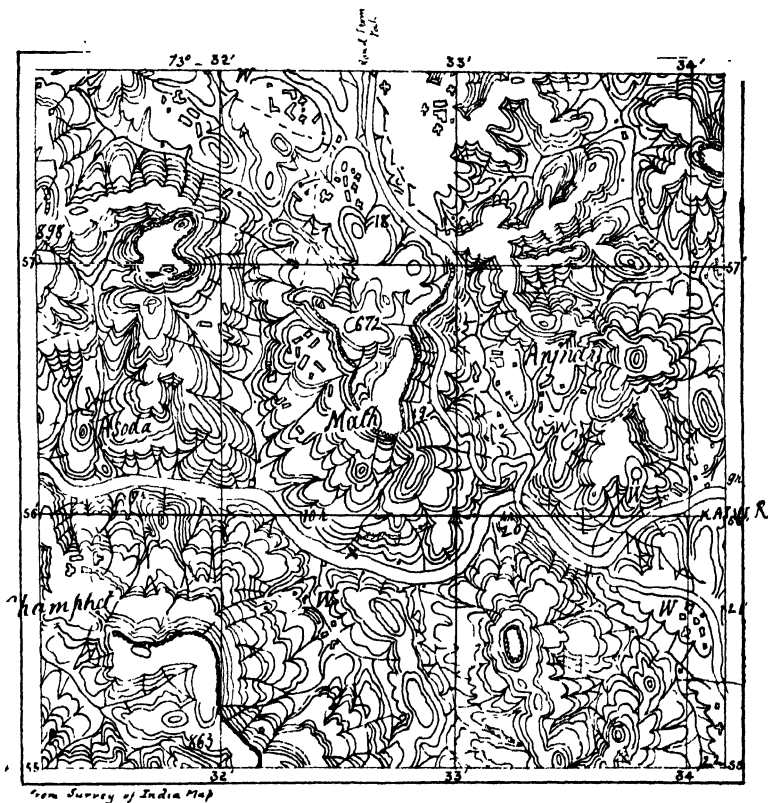
MATH HOT SPRING.

Latitude, 16° 56' N. Longitude, 73° 32½' E.

Unlike the spring at Rajapur, which is well known and frequently visited, that which one comes across next on going north is hardly known at all even to the people of the neighbourhood, and is practically not used even for purposes of bathing. It was, however, described by Duncan in 1837 (Trans. Medical Phys. Society, Bombay, Vol. I), who besides describing its position states that "people are said to be afraid to use the water of this spring on account of the increased consumption of grain and *ghee* it occasions by creating a voracious appetite." We are not aware that any further description of this spring has been made since Duncan's time.

Math is a village of the Ratnagiri taluka, about eighteen miles from Ratnagiri near the road from Pali to Lanja. The village is three miles from Pali (*vide* map in Plate II). The spring is about four miles from the main road, on the east bank of the Kanjee (Kajvi) river,* and can only be approached by tracks across the hills, even a regular path to it being absent.

* We cannot understand Oldham's description of it (*loc. cit.*) as "about one mile to the north of the river Kanjee, which passes down from near the Ambaghat to Rutnageriah and is "about half way between the Ghats and the sea in Hatkambi mahal." There is, however, a tradition that the spring formerly opened in a temple some miles to the north, but there is no trace of any spring now. We were not able to get any details further.



Map showing the surroundings of **Math-Hot-Spring.**
 x Hot-Spring.

The present condition is that the spring flows from the northern side of the river a few yards from the bank. It is said that at one time there was a cistern a few paces away from the bank of the river, but now there is no trace of it. And although the volume of water discharged from the spring is about equal to that of a one inch pipe, the existence of it is not known to many people of the village.

The rock surrounding the spring is black trap, and it is probable that the spring arises from a fissure in this rock. It appears, however, in the earth on the bank of the river, and we did not get the opportunity to clear away the earth and actually get at the origin of the water.

The temperature of the water at the date of observation (February 1912) was 101° F. at 5 P.M. It had a smell which a casual observer would say was sulphuretted hydrogen, but there appeared to be no trace of this gas when the water was tested with lead acetate paper. The water is clear, but slightly salt.

On analysis for organic impurity the water yielded the following figures :—

Free Ammonia	...	...	...	0101 parts per 100,000.
Albuminoid Ammonia	...	...	0210	" "
Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes	...	...	069	" "
" " in 4 hours	...	...	135	" "

The residue on evaporation charred and became black on heating. This contains the most organic impurity of any of the springs we have studied in the Ratnagiri district,—impurity which it probably obtains by infiltration into the fissure, from the village which lies above it. The following figures show the mineral contents of the water :—

Total solid matter	112.0 parts per 100,000.
containing	Per cent.
Calcium ...	8.44
Magnesium ...	0.55
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄) ...	15.35
Chlorine (Cl) ...	43.75
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃) ...	1.29
Alkalinity (as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃)	0.82

This is evidently a water whose principal constituent is common salt (Sodium Chloride), over sixty-six per cent. of the saline contents consisting of this substance.

SANGAMESHWAR HOT SPRING.

Latitude, $17^{\circ} 12\frac{1}{2}'$ N. Longitude, $73^{\circ} 39'$ E.

About sixteen miles to the north as the crow flies from the hot spring at Math, across a country deeply seamed with hills and narrow valleys

lies the curious assemblage of hot springs in the bed of the river Shastri, at Phansavane or Kasaba Sangameshwar three miles to the north-east of the present town of Sangameshwar.

These were first described by Duncan (*loc. cit.*) in 1837, as a "spring in the bed of a river about one mile to the east of the town of Sangameshwar, south of the Shastri river which passes that place." Hazlewood more correctly describes them as springs "in the middle of the river" (Trans. Bom. Geog. Soc., Vol. X, p. 42).

We visited these springs on two occasions. The first was in November 1911, the second was in February 1912, when the river might be supposed to be almost at its lowest. On both occasions they were in the bed of the river, and their position was revealed by the quantities of bubbles of gas continually rising in the water over a length of about twenty yards in the river. The actual springs—and there are many,—were found by wading in the river and then feeling with the feet for the hot water in the neighbourhood of the bubbles. The people say that just before the rains some of the springs are outside the water in the river bed for a short time, but it is evident that for more than eleven months in the year the springs rise in the bed of the river.

Owing to this fact our determinations of the temperature are not so exact in this as in other cases. We found, as near as we could make it, 120° to 122° F. The water evidently came from a series of fissures in the trap rock mostly running north-east to south-west in the line of the river, but covered with silt so that it was impossible to clear the fissures for observation. It was impossible also to get a sample of this water for analysis, but the gas given off in large quantity was collected on April 11th, 1913, and on examination proved to be wholly composed of Nitrogen or gases equally unreactive.*

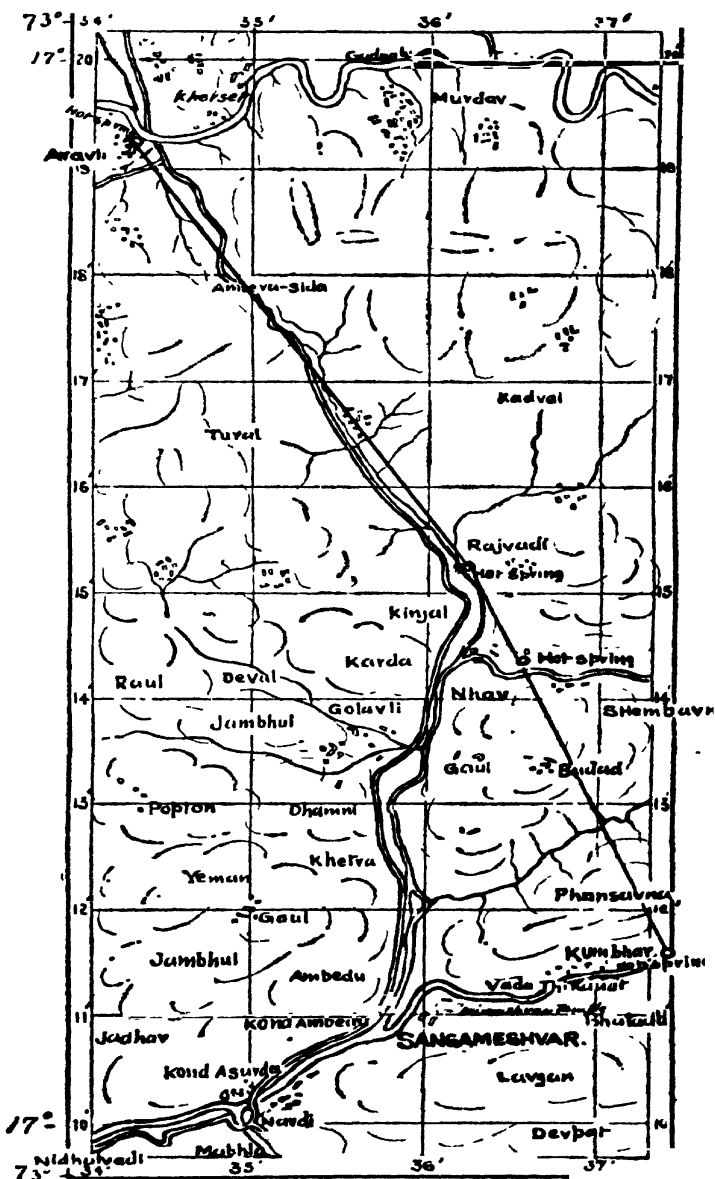
HOT SPRINGS AT RAJAWADI AND BARAGAON.

Latitude, $17^{\circ} 14' - 15'$ N. Longitude, $73^{\circ} 36' - 37'$ E.

The springs above described in the river at Sangameshwar seem to form the southern extremity of a series which reappear in two successive valleys a little to the north practically on one line (see attached map in Plate III). While those at Sangameshwar, as a result of their position, however, are not used and not usable, several of those at Rajawadi and Baragaon (in two adjoining valleys) have regular tanks made round them and are in the immediate vicinity of temples.

These springs have been several times described, but it is difficult to reconcile the descriptions with the actual conditions. Duncan (*loc. cit.*) says: "At Rajawadi there are two thermal springs removed from each

* The gas analyses recorded in this paper were kindly carried out for us by Mr. N. V. Kanitkar, B.Sc.



*Map showing the lines of Hot-Springs between
Sundameshwar and Aravali*

other by the distance of a few feet. There is a great difference in their temperatures. The villages Tural or Toorul* and Rajawadi are at opposite (west and east) sides of a feeder of the Shastri or Sangameshwar stream, and about half a mile from it. The principal hot spring lies between the two close to the little stream; but there are several others. Water said to be very hot, almost boiling." Hazlewood (l.c.) simply notes that it is said to be so hot that the hand cannot be put in without being scalded. Both these authors had evidently not visited the springs themselves. Giraud (l.c.) apparently visited the place and took a temperature of 110° F. though of what spring he took the record one cannot say. He says that the flow of the spring was one and-a-half gallons per minute.

These springs, however, form about the most interesting group in the district and merit a more careful description than any of those on record. The road to the north from Sangameshwar Bandar follows the line of the Shastri river for some miles and then leaves it to follow that of a feeder. This is produced by two smaller streams, and the road continues to follow up the course of the western one of these. The valleys of both these feeders are however full of springs. The village and temple of Rajawadi lies near (west of) the eastern stream and there is a series of hot springs near the temple and about fifty yards from the stream itself, and another on the eastern bank of the stream. The western stream (which the road follows) has, about twenty yards away, one large and very hot spring at Baragaon and a number of minor ones near the stream itself. Between the two valleys is the spur of a hill on which Rajawadi village chiefly lies. The whole group (as will be seen from the map) forms a line of springs running north-west to south-east, with an interruption, of course, where the spur of the hill occurs. The northern end of this line is formed by the Baragaon temple spur, the southern end by the spring beyond the river (to the east) at Rajawadi temple. The length of the line is about one and-a-half miles. The people at Rajawadi declare that there is a connection between these springs and those at Sangameshwar, but we have not been able definitely to trace the line between the two places.

Starting from the southern end of the line, beyond the river at Rajawadi, the following is a description of the springs :—

Spring beyond the river at Rajawadi.—This spring comes out from the southern bank of the river a little above the normal cold weather level of the stream. The water forces its way through a mass of alluvial deposit, and it was not possible to dig deep enough to expose the rock fissure from which it is derived. It is at the base of a wild fig

* The Baragaon spring is often called 'Toorul.'

tree, and is always shaded and we estimated it to give about twenty-five gallons per minute in February 1912. The water as it comes out of the ground has the following temperature :—

(November 1911) Morning 7 A.M.	...	...	127° F.
Noon 1 P.M.	..	...	127° F.
Evening 5 P.M.	...	...	127° F.

On one occasion a temperature of 134° F. at midday was recorded. In April 1913 a redetermination gave a temperature of 129° F. These temperatures were taken in the hole made by the water forcing itself through the alluvium. There are several other signs of hot springs in a north-west direction in the bed of the stream itself, detected by the feet when wading in the stream.

The water was clear, insipid, and with a strong smell which might be mistaken for sulphuretted hydrogen. It is neutral to litmus, and gives immediate froth with soap. After a bath, the body becomes sticky, and the bathers are said (as in other cases with these hot springs) to feel giddy and hungry.

The water is organically very pure as is shown by the following analysis :

Free Ammonia	...	...	..	0029 parts per 100,000.
Albuminoid Ammonia	...	...	..	0082 „ „
Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes	...	...	..	054 „ „
„ „ in 4 hours	...	...	..	12 „ „

The analysis of the saline contents of the water gave results as follows :—

Total salts in the water containing	96.4 parts per 100,000.	Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	7.4	
Magnesium (Mg)	2.7	
Chlorine (Cl)	42.1	
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	11.2	
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	2.4	
Alkalinity of water (calculated as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃)	2.22 parts per 100,000.	

Bubbles of gas continually arise with the water, and on examination these proved to be entirely composed of Nitrogen or gases equally unreactive.

Spring near Rajawadi Temple.—About two hundred paces to the north of the river on whose bank the spring just described occurs, about twenty feet above it, and separated from it by rice-fields, lies a well

known temple of Shiv. On the outside (west) of the temple are two cisterns of hot water. The real spring opens into the bottom of one of these, and the water from this cistern is allowed to flow into the second. Bathing is not allowed in the former cistern, but as the water cools down in the second, bathers are allowed to make use of the water. These cisterns are surrounded by rice-fields, but in these there are a number of places where the hot water also forces its way up, and the cultivators take a crop of winter (*vaingun*) rice, using the hot water for irrigation. They also grow brinjals, and in some places when the water goes it is said that a salt incrustation is observed in the hot weather.

These openings in the fields are obviously closely connected with that in the cistern. If they are allowed to run freely it is said that both the quantity and temperature of the water in the cistern diminishes. There is one opening about six or eight feet from the cistern of which this is particularly stated. As a rule this is kept partly closed up with stones and clay: if, however, it is desired to clean the cistern, the stones and clay are removed, and the water coming into the cistern becomes so small in amount that its cleaning is easy. There is a similar close connection said to exist between these temple springs and the one beyond the river previously described. In the rains when there are heavy floods in the river the quantity of water in the temple springs as well as their temperature is said to increase.

The local cultivators have great faith in these waters, used as a bath, for cutaneous disease, but we had no evidence that they have any but a purely local reputation, though a large fair is held at the temple in February each year.

The tank into which the original spring flows is about four feet deep and eight feet square. The second, used as outflow from the first and for bathing as above described, is only three feet deep twelve feet long and three feet wide. There was a luxuriant growth of green algae in the original tank with water at 126° F.

The bottom of the tanks appears to be black trap rock.

The temperature of the water in the original tank was as follows in November 1911:—

7 A.M.	...	...	...	...	...	116° F.
1 P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	128° F.
5 P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	121° F.

The water as it emerges from the ground in the spring a few yards away (already described) was as follows :—

7 A.M.	...	...	...	...	133° F.
1 P.M.	...	...	...	...	133° F.
5 P.M.	...	...	...	...	133° F.

The water, organically, is fairly pure, and gave figures on analysis as follows :—

Free Ammonia	...	...	...	0064 parts per 100,000.
Albuminoid Ammonia	..	...	...	0042 „ „
Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes	...	...	...	036 „ „
„ „ in 4 hours	...	...	...	020 „ „

The analysis of the saline contents of the water gave results as follows :—

Total salts in the water containing	100.0 parts per 100,000.
	Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	6.4
Magnesium (Mg)	1.9
Chlorine (Cl)	44.8
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	11.1
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	1.7
Alkalinity of water (calculated as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃) ...	0.7 parts per 100,000.

Bubbles of gas continually arise in the tank, and on collection this proved to be a mixture of Nitrogen (or equally unreactive gas) and Oxygen as follows :—

	Per cent.
Oxygen	16.76
Nitrogen	83.24

An incrustation occurs on the stones in the field near the spring and this gave, on analysis, the following figures :—

	Per cent.
Insoluble matter	40.2
Calcium (Ca)	3.96
Magnesium (Mg)	1.53
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	10.90
Chlorine (Cl)	26.25
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	0.29

The water in the tank is clear, and does not give any precipitate on standing for several days. It smells of what at first sight seems to be sulphuretted hydrogen, but no sulphides are present. The taste is insipid, and it forms a lather with soap quite easily. The same stickiness is felt in the body after bathing as already noted for the spring previously described, and the same sensation of hunger is said to be felt.

Spring in rice-fields below Baragaon Temple.—If a straight line to the north-west from this point be taken to Baragaon temple, the shoulder of the hill above Rajawadi village has first to be crossed, and then the valley of the second stream is entered.

In the rice-fields in the narrow valley there are numerous signs of hot springs. The largest of these is on the southern bank of the river, surrounded by grass and an area which is always muddy and wet. The water rises from a hole in the ground, and the temperature readings in the hole were as follows :—

8 A.M.	...	...	...	...	142° F.
1 P.M.	...	...	...	...	142° F.
5 P.M.	...	...	...	...	147° F.
6 P.M.	...	...	...	...	142° F.

The quantity of water produced by this spring in its present condition is small, but in character it seems very similar to the last. It gave (May 1911) the following figures on analysis :—

Total salts containing	92 parts per 100,000.	Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	6'4
Magnesium (Mg)...	...	2'9
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	...	11'9
Chlorine (Cl)	47'2
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	...	2'5

Spring at Baragaon Temple.—Across the river from the last named spring, in the midst of jungle on the side of the road and seven miles from Sangameshwar lies the lonely temple of Baragaon. Nobody lives there or in the immediate vicinity, but just below the temple, at a distance perhaps of ten or fifteen yards, there is a well built cistern containing hot water, from which a constant stream issues, and runs to the river below, after passing through and watering a number of rice-fields on its banks. Before the tank was built the water came out in a ditch; it was so hot as to be impossible to go near, while rice could be cooked in the water. There are stories of buffaloes and jackals having died by falling into the ditch. The present cistern was built by Govern-

ment in 1910 to avoid accidents : two of the springs have been included in the one cistern and the water in this is naturally much cooler than the springs themselves.

Near the hot spring,—about eight feet to the north—there was said to be a cold water spring, and there is such a cold water spring at present about twenty-five feet to the north. The local people maintain that this is a part of the water of the old cold spring, the other portion of which has been included in the cistern and hence cannot flow with the old force. Hence the greater portion of the cold water finds its way out by the more distant outlet.

The cistern is four feet deep, ten feet long and eight feet wide. It now contains much sand and shells, and green algæ are growing luxuriantly, though the temperature is nearly 140° F.

The temperature of the water in this tank was as follows in November 1911 :—

8 A.M.	...	...	...	..	137° F.
2 P.M.	...	...	..	...	139° F.
6 P.M.	...	...	..	...	138° F.

Later determinations of the temperature of the water of the tank are as follows :—

February 17th, 1912	...	..	...	140° F.
April 12th, 1913	...	...	...	140° F.

We were not able to get the exact temperature of the water as it issues, but it would certainly be considerably higher, even if the local tradition of a cold water spring having been included in the tank is not correct.

The analysis of the saline constituents of the water gave results as follows .—

Total salts in the water	92.0 parts per 100,000.			
containing	Per cent.			
Calcium (Ca) ... ..	...	...	...	7.6
Magnesium (Mg) ... ..	...	...	...	2.5
Chlorine (Cl) ... ..	...	...	..	45.1
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄) ... ..	...	...	...	12.8
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃) ... ..	...	...	..	1.3
Alkalinity of water (calculated as				
Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃) ...	...	...	...	1.48 parts per 100,000.

It is curious to see how utterly different this water is from the much, more superficial cold water spring, already mentioned, a few feet away which gave figures as follows :—

Total salts in the water containing	18.0 parts per 100,000.	Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	14.2
Magnesium (Mg)	2.0
Chlorine (Cl)	11.7
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	10.1
Carbonic Acid (SO ₃)	32.2
Alkalinity of water (calculated as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃)	<i>Nil.</i>

This cold spring contains very little salt of any kind : what there is consists essentially of carbonates with very little chloride or sulphate : the hot spring water is much more highly saline and the salts consist essentially of chlorides with very little carbonate.

As with all the other hot springs bubbles of gas are continually given off, and on analysis this proved to be a mixture of nitrogen (or equally unreactive gas) and oxygen as follows :—

	Per cent.
Oxygen .. .	1.22
Nitrogen	98.78

The water in the cistern is clear, and smells exactly like that at Rajawadi temple. It does not precipitate on standing for several days. The same results of bathing as at the other members of this group of springs are said to be noticed here. The hot water gave figures, as regards organic impurity, as follows, and was thus very pure :—

Free Ammonia	0.0008 parts per 100,000.
Albuminoid Ammonia	0.0054 „ „
Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes	0.032 „ „
„ „ in 4 hours	0.058 „ „

The Baragaon temple spring forms the extreme north of the curious line of springs that we have described, and there is a gap of six miles before another hot spring is found to the north. There seems little doubt that all these Rajawadi springs have an essentially common source, and arise from one fissure or series of fissures. The configuration of the land and the great accumulations of alluvium did not permit us to try and trace the fissure itself.

HOT-SPRING AT ARAVALI.

Latitude 17° 19' N. Longitude 73° 34' E.

The spring at Aravali, now to be described, is one to which attention was earliest directed in the Ratnagiri district, and is specially interesting because in this case the actual fissure from which the hot water rises can be examined. The spring was mentioned by Duncan (l. c.) who stated that it was sixteen miles from the Ghats and twenty-four from the sea, that it was near the bank of the Garui river, and that the water was impregnated with sulphur. To this information, Giraud adds that the flow was about one gallon per minute. If this was so, the flow must have much increased since his time.

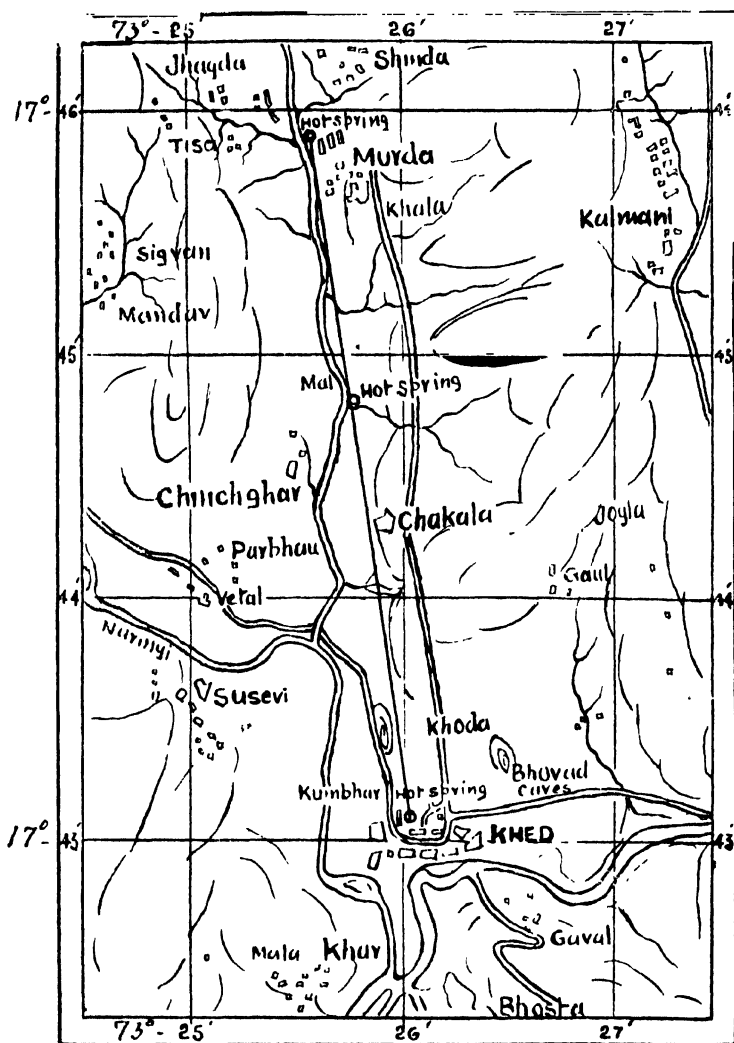
Hazlewood (*Trans. Bombay Geographical Society* 1852 under date February 2nd, 1850) describes his visit to Aravali as follows :—

“ We were at Aravali yesterday, where there is a very beautiful hot spring. The Brahmins are in the habit of bathing and washing their clothes in it, and finding it in a very filthy state we put a dozen men into it, and emptied and thoroughly cleansed it. It filled again in the course of two hours, and the water was then as pure as crystal. I plunged a thermometer into it, and it rose to 105°, after being in a few minutes. The water of this spring is strongly impregnated with sulphur. We bathed in it, and enjoyed our bath amazingly.”

Aravali is a village at the extreme north of the Sangameshwar taluka, thirteen miles from Sangameshwar and eighteen from Chiplun. The spring is situated on the west of the road between these places, about twenty yards from the road itself, and one hundred yards from the bank of the river. There are two cisterns actually in use, rebuilt in 1909-10. The water rises in one of the cistern, and the overflow passes into the second. The first cistern is five feet deep and eight feet square : the second is smaller. The bottom of each of them is irregular and formed of black trap rock.

The water is regularly used for bathing, and in this case the people actually stand in the tanks themselves, and wash their clothes in them. The excess of water from the spring is used for irrigating garden vegetables especially brinjals.

We had the cistern emptied, and thus were able to take the temperature of the water as it actually issued from the fissure of the rock. The fissure ran from north-west to south-east, and dipped at an angle of about forty-five degrees towards the south-west. In this case gas was not noticed and the water simply rose from the fissure and filled the tank.



Map showing the line of Hot-Springs near Khed.

After emptying the cistern, the water from the fissure refilled it in about three hours, or about one hundred cubic feet per hour, equal to ten gallons per minute or ten times the amount estimated by Giraud in his day. The temperature of the water as it rose in the fissure was $105^{\circ}8'$ F. The water in the cistern, as usually found, gave readings for temperature as follows :—

December 1911.

7-30 A.M.	...	...	...	...	103° F.
1 P.M.	...	...	...	...	104° F.
4-30 P.M.	...	...	...	...	104° F.

The water in the cistern is usually turbid, but becomes clear after settling for some hours. The effects, on bathing in it, are similar to those observed with other waters. Unlike any of the other it contains much sulphuretted hydrogen. The quantity of sulphides was equivalent to 1,395 parts per 100,000 of hydrogen sulphide.

The saline constituents of the water on analysis gave results as follows :—

Total salts in the water containing	December 1911.		February 1912.	
	60.0 parts per 100,000.		56.0 parts per 100,000.	
	Per cent.		Per cent.	
Calcium (Ca)	3.1	...	3.6
Magnesium (Mg)	3.6	...	4.3
Chlorine (Cl)	35.0	...	37.5
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	17.0	...	8.5
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	3.9	...	4.1
Alkalinity of water (calculated as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃)	3.0 parts per 100,000.	...	3.0 parts per 100,000.

HOT SPRINGS AT KHED.

Latitude $17^{\circ}43'$ N. Longitude $73^{\circ}26'$ E.

The next springs of which we will treat, which lie a little further west than the line almost due north and south on which all the previous ones have lain, is the group in the neighbourhood of Khed. These have been very little referred to by the authors who have described the hot springs of the Ratnagiri district, but the principal spring was mentioned by Giraud (*l.c.*).

Hitherto all records of the Khed spring have suggested that there was only one : we have however found several in the same river valley at several miles distance. The principal one, and that to which evidently

all previous descriptions refer occurs in the middle of a flat plain immediately to the west of the town of Khed. It is surrounded by rice-fields, and though there is a hill away to the east, at a distance of about one hundred and fifty yards, the land immediately round is quite flat. The river (a tributary of the Jagbudi river) is half a mile away to the west.

The spring is built up with stone and lime and its construction is curious. The exit of the water from the rock is eight to nine feet below the level of the ground, and a cylinder of stone has been built round the spring up which the water rises over the surface into a cistern. It is said that this arrangement has existed from the time of the Peshwas, but that the whole was repaired before 1861.* Old people were consulted, who remembered or had heard of the time when the spring was repaired, but no one knew anything about the real source of the spring. One man said definitely that it came from the hill on the east, but he had no evidence to show, and this is extremely unlikely. Against it is the following evidence that the fissure from which the water rises is immediately under the spring. First, the spring is in the middle of a flat field again the stone cylinder up which it rises is built vertically; and again a large amount of gas rises with the water up the cylinder. Further attempts have been made in recent years by the Public Works Department of Government to raise the level to which the water rose in the stone cylinder by raising the height of the cylinder by two to three feet. The effort has been unsuccessful as the water refused to rise, and the only effect was that the total flow was reduced, and it almost ceased in the hot weather. The height has now been reduced to the original point. This gives an idea of the pressure as the water comes out of the rock fissure; it amounts to from eight to ten feet of water.

The rock out of which the water arises is not visible, being covered with several feet of alluvium, and we were not able to have the place specially opened, but the rocks surrounding are pure trap.

The temperature of the water as it flowed out into the cistern was as follows in December 1911 :—

7-30 A.M.	...	...	...	...	...	96° F.
1 P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	96° F.
6 P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	96° F.

It is clear, and keeps clear on standing for three days. It smells, as do so many other of these waters, as if it contained sulphuretted hydrogen, but in reality it contains no sulphides. It is used for

* By Mr. Balaji Janardhan Behere, Mahalkari of Khed, who retired in 1861.

washing clothes, and is very good for this purpose, but its continuous use for cleaning brass pots is said to stain them. The water as it runs away from the cistern is used for irrigation of garden crops, such as vegetables.

On analysis the water gave the following figures as regards its saline contents :—

Total salts in the water containing				102.0 parts per 100,000.	Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	3.8
Magnesium (Mg)	2.5
Chlorine (Cl)	45.3
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	10.4
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	1.5
Alkalinity of water (calculated as					
Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃)	N/1.

It is evident a water of exactly the same type as we have already described at Math, at Sangameshwar, at the Rajawadi group of springs, and at Aravali, so far as its saline contents are concerned.

As regards organic impurity it gave the following figures on analysis :—

Free Ammonia	...	...	...	0.209 parts per 100,000.
Albuminoid Ammonia	...	...	...	0.090 „ „
Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes	...	...	...	0.080 „ „
„ „ in 4 hours	...	...	...	1.02 „ „

The spring at Khed is, we find, only the lowest of a series whose existence has not previously been noted, further up the river in whose basin it lies. The nearest of these is at the village of Chisghar about two miles away, of which the following description was written on the spot in February 1912.

‘ At Chisghar is a neglected spring, just on the banks and actually in the bed of the Chisghar stream. The slightest flood must cover it and fill the hole with dirt. This happens every year, we are told, and after the floods are over, it is dug out. It is only used for bathing, and is in deep alluvial deposit, ten feet below the level of the banks, on the north bank of the river. The valley here is wide. To the north there are hills half a mile away : to the south and east the hills are distant one to one and a half miles : to the west they are at least two miles away. The water rises from below, and there is a flow of about four gallons a minute. There is no sign of a vigorous rise of water in the hole, and so the pressure is evidently very small, not more than two feet

of water at any rate. Gas is given off in small quantity if the hole is stirred. The temperature is 91° to 92° F. in the hole.

"To the west of this and about fifteen feet away there is another smaller spring, with about half the amount of water, composed of a number of exits over a circle of five feet in diameter. The temperature here is practically the same as in the larger spring. In both these cases there has been an attempt to build up the spring below ground, two to three feet deep, with stones all round, so as to make them more available for bathing. Solid trap rock is found in the bank of the stream thirty feet to the south-west of the first spring."

The water of the larger of these Chisghar springs gave the following figures on analysis as regards its saline contents :—

Total salts in the water ¹ containing				87.0 parts per 100,000. Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	...	...	...	6.7
Magnesium (Mg.)	...	...	...	2.8
Chlorine (Cl)	...	...	...	43.4
Sulphuric Acid:(SO ₄)	...	...	...	13.3
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	...	...	...	13.3
Alkalinity of water (calculated as				
Sodium Carbonate Na 2 CO ₃)				Nil.

The same stream which passes Chisghar contains still another hot spring at the village of Murda, three miles further to the north. The water of the stream is here held up by the cultivators by means of a dam and this prevents the spring being visible and retains it always under water. The following notes are from observations made by our friend Mr. N. M. Padwekar, in March 1912 :—

"The spring is always under water usually three feet deep and in the centre of the stream. It can be detected by the bubbles which rise to the surface, and by wading in the water when the warmth is felt by the feet. The villagers say there is black trap rock round the spring. The people apparently have no interest in the spring."

As a consequence of its position we were unable to obtain the water for analysis or to determine its temperature.

HOT SPRINGS AT UNHAVARE (near the Washishti Creek).

Latitude $17^{\circ} 37'$ N. Longitude $73^{\circ} 22'$ E.

As has already been indicated, all the hot springs in the Ratnagiri district, from the most southerly known (that at Rajapur) as far as north as that at Aravali lie on one line almost due north and south. From this point northward however they are much more



Map showing the position of Hot-Springs near the Vashishti River.
x Hot-Springs.

irregularly distributed, and many of them lie much further to the west. Those just discussed at Khed lie, roughly speaking, about twelve miles to the west of the longitude of the line just mentioned : the one at Unhavare is still further to the west and hence nearer the sea coast and not far from the banks of the Washishti Creek which joins the sea at Dabhol.

This spring has been several times visited. Duncan (*loc. cit.*) states that it gives water "so hot that rice is boiled in a few minutes." Hazlewood speaks of it as follows (*l. c.*):—

"There is a very hot spring, which is passed coming up the Dhabool karee at Nurje Oonaren, Turaf Haveyld, Jaffarabad, in the Soovern-droog taluka, distant about 400 paces from the karee. On the left side as you come up, it is so hot that rice is boiled in it in a few minutes. Oonaren is two miles from the mouth of the Dhabool karee."

Practically nothing beyond these remarks is on record. Oldham (*l. c.*) quotes an incorrect determination of the temperature by W. G. Salmon (109° F.), but we have not been able to find the original authority in this case. Hazlewood's description too, above, seems to be incorrect as to the position of the spring. It is not two, but rather fourteen miles from Dabhol by creek. A rough sketch of the place is attached.

On the northern bank of a feeder of the creek from Dabhol, leaving it at Pharara village, and about thirty paces away from the bank is a boggy place about one acre in extent. In this there are from ten to fifteen actual springs of water. The place where the hottest water comes out of the ground is supposed to be sacred by the Mahomedans, and questions are asked of the Pir to whom the place is sacred through Mujavars or priests, by whom answers are communicated.

In this area there are in all four cisterns for bathing. The first is provided for men of any of the touchable castes ; the second is for women ; the third is for Mahars ; and the fourth for Chambhars. The first two are twelve feet square and three feet deep : the last two are much smaller, not more than four feet square and the same depth as the others. Little care is taken of these last two, and they are often partly filled up with mud, as the channels carrying water to them are not made up with stone. The second cistern (for women) is surrounded by trees, but as it is near the shrine of the Mohamedan Pir, it is dirty and has bones and flesh and heaps of feathers scattered round it.

The whole area occupied by these springs is very soft, covered with green grass, and it is necessary to walk with great care. The cisterns are very dirty: the water in them is muddy and oily. The accumulated water which rises from the ground flows by a series of open channels into the cisterns. This enables us to determine approximately the volume of the water. About one-fourth of the total quantity is allowed to flow into the cistern provided for men of the touchable castes. It then filled this cistern in one and-a-quarter hours. This gives 432 cubic feet in this time, or a total flow of about four times this or 1,384 cubic feet per hour. This gives, for the whole flow, about 144 gallons per minute.

The temperature of the water as it rises from the ground is indicated by the following determinations (March 1912):—

7 A.M.	...	...	154° F.	..	...	155° F.
1 P.M.	...	...	154° F.	...	...	155° F.
6 P.M.	...	...	153° F.	...	...	156° F.

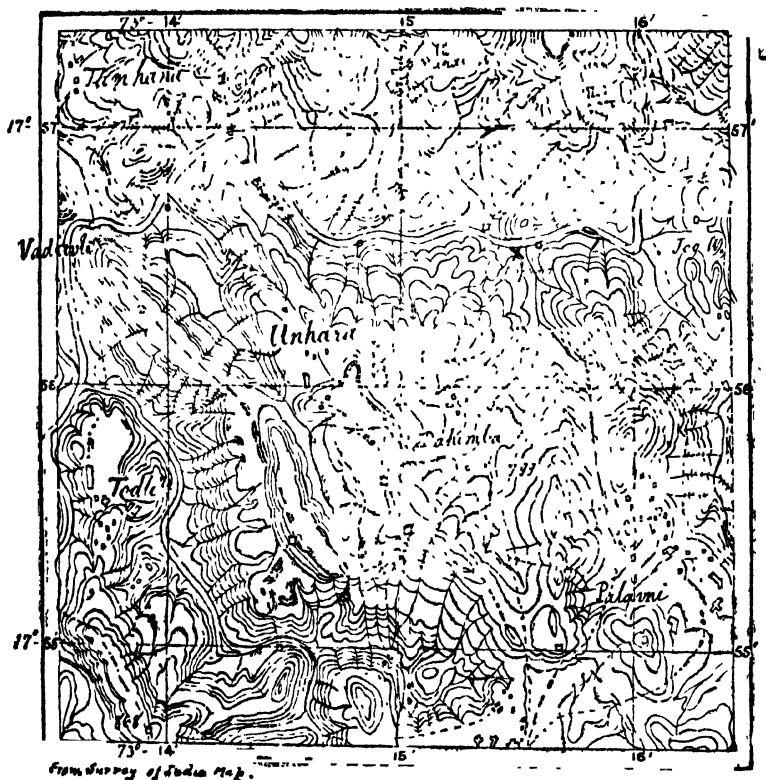
It thus stands as the hottest spring we have found in the district. Giraud, one of the best of the older observers, gives the temperature as 157° F., a figure very close to ours.

The water is clear and keeps clear on standing for three days. Like other springs it appears to smell of sulphuretted hydrogen, but it contains none and no sulphides. It is brackish to the taste. Clothes washed in it remain sticky, and it is said to stain pots washed in it. Stones on the side of the cistern, and also in the side of the channel are incrustated with salt.

The incrustations on the stones near these springs were collected and analysed. They gave figures as follows:—

			White incrustation.	Yellow incrustation.
			Per cent.	Per cent.
Insoluble matter	...	...	5·2	16·5
Calcium (Ca)	...	..	2·42	3·52
Magnesium (Mg.)	...	...	0·74	0·76
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	...	...	3·89	9·88
Chlorine (Cl)	...	...	52·50	42·35
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	...	...	0·22	0·14

The water has a local reputation of curing skin diseases, gout, and indigestion. It is not however used for drinking, but only for bathing.



Map showing the position of the Hot-Spring in Mandangadh Peta.
 x Hot-Spring.

On determination of the saline constituents in the water the following figures were obtained :—

Total salts in the water containing			199.0 parts per 1,00,000.
			Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	...	...	5.3
Magnesium (Mg)	...	...	0.4
Chlorine (Cl)	...	...	51.9
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	...	...	7.6
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	...	...	0.7
Alkalinity in the water (calculated as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃)			Nil.

The very large excess of sodium chloride which these figures reveal indicates almost certainly contamination with sea water. The salt creek is not many paces away, and such a result is not unnatural. The gas given off from the springs was entirely composed of nitrogen or some equally unreactive gas.

HOT SPRINGS AT UNHAVARE (MANDANGADH PETA).

Latitude 17° 57' N. Longitude 73° 15½' E.

This, the last spring we have to describe in the Ratnagiri district is one of the most inaccessible. Its existence has, however, been noted by Duncan as well as other writers. Duncan says that it is in the Severndroog Taluka. It is evidently, as Oldham remarks, the *Severndroog Oonale* of Buist. The village Unhavare in which it occurs is a *khoti* village in the Mandangadh Peta of the Ratnagiri district, twenty miles from Dapoli by road, and eighteen by footpaths, and the same distance from Harnai Bunder on the coast.

A rough sketch of the surroundings is attached. On the southern bank of the Bharja River, and a few paces away there is a cistern built of laterite covered with a slab of trap rock at the opening of the spring. About a hundred paces away from this, in a rice-field almost due to the south there is a boggy patch, deep with mud, is found the actual source of the spring. It is stated that at this place also there is a built cistern, but it has now got filled up with mud—so full, in fact, that all trace of it is lost. There is, however, an overflow from it which runs towards the river, where there is a regular stream of water.

The cistern first described is supposed to be a holy place sacred to the goddess of the village and is in charge of the khots of the village

termed *raos*. There are two smaller tanks fed from the overflow and used for bathing respectively by Mahars and Chambars. They are neglected, are almost in the bed of the river and are often filled up with mud.

We removed the stone which covered the cistern first described. Below it was a hollow full of sand and pebbles,—and some bronze coins were also found—all in a blackened condition. The size of the space into which the water rose was four feet long by twenty-one inches wide by nine inches deep. This was filled in ninety seconds, indicating a flow of 215 to 220 gallons per minute. In the hole from which the water rises the temperature is 128° F., in the cistern itself it is constantly 126° F. (March 1912). A later visit to the spring in April 1913 gave a temperature at its exit of 130° F.

The water is used for bathing, but the villagers know nothing about its being of medicinal value. The utmost we could get in this direction was by a visitor who stated that it was useful, to bathe in, in cases of itch. The water is said to have the same effect as it reported from nearly all the other springs. It leaves the body sticky, and the bather hungry.

The water is clear and remains clear on standing. It smells as usual, apparently of sulphuretted hydrogen, but no soluble sulphides could be detected in it. It is brackish to the taste, and the stones at the side and in the channel have salt incrustations. The following are the figures obtained on analysis of the saline contents of the water :—

Total salts in the water containing				173'0 parts per 100,000.	Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	4'9
Magnesium (Mg)	0'7
Chlorine (Cl)	51'6
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	7'1
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	0'8
Alkalinity in the water (calculated as					
Sodium Carbonate Na 2 CO ₃)				...	1'8 parts per 100,000.

The excess of sodium chloride again in this case suggests contamination with sea water.

The gas which is given off with the water turned out to be pure nitrogen or gases equally unreactive.

THE HOT SPRINGS OF THE RATNAGIRI DISTRICT

The incrustation found at the side of the cistern gave the following figures on analysis :—

	Per cent.
Insoluble matter	12.1
Calcium (Ca)	2.40
Magnesium (Mg)	2.31
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	2.74
Chlorine (Cl)	49.58
Carbonic Acid (CO ₂)	0.96

IV.

Such is an account, as complete as we can make it at this moment, of the known hot springs of the Ratnagiri district, each of which we have visited and hence obtained first hand information on the spot. We should have liked to add, to what we have ascertained, an account of the radio-activity of the springs, but this will be done, we hope, in the near future by the Rev. Fr. Sierp, S.J., who has promised to undertake it.

There are a few general observations, however, which remain to be made. The known springs, evidently deep seated from their temperature, lie so far as all except the northern ones are concerned on a line which is nearly due north and south from the latitude of Rajapur to the latitude of Aravali. The longitude of each of the springs is as follows —

Rajapur	73° 34' E.
Math	73° 32' E.
Sangameshwar	73° 39' E.
Rajawadi group	73° 36' to 37' E.
Aravali	73° 34' E.

North of this there appears to be either a curving of the line of fissure to the west or else other cracks have been formed further away to the west. The springs appear in no less than six river valleys on almost exactly the identical line, nearly north and south, and it is more than probable that a careful examination would lead to the discovery of further sources. North of Aravali, or rather north of the large Washishti Creek, the same line is not followed. The three known series of springs appear in three different longitudes, and there is nothing like the same regularity. The spring north of those dealt with in this paper, in the Kolaba and in the Thana districts, are equally spread about at irregular distances from the main line of the Western Ghats.

Regarding the composition of the salts contained in these waters, one may at once say that it is remarkably constant. Leaving aside

the Rajapur spring which, on account of the amount of salts contained in the water and their composition, seems to be a much more superficial source than the other deep seated springs, the waters may be said to contain much chlorides and little carbonates, a fact which is rather unexpected. We have collected a large quantity of the salts in many of these waters by concentrating them on the spot, and hope later to present a detailed examination of these salts as a contribution to the study of the decomposition of the deep seated rocks of the trap area. In the meantime, over forty per cent. of the solid matter in all the waters (except that at Rajapur) is chloride—and this when any contamination with sea water is most unlikely, as the springs are beyond the tidal region in all cases except the three northern ones [Khed, Unhavare (Washishti), Unhavare (Mundangadh)]. These last three contain still more chlorides, but there is, in their case, a very considerable chance of sea water infiltration. In all cases (except at Aravali and again at Rajapur) the amount of magnesium is much less than that of calcium, and, with again the same exceptions, the proportion of sulphuric acid is fairly constant.

The temperature of the springs varies very widely, as would, of course, be expected. The groups of springs with the highest temperatures are those at Unhavare (Washishti) where they reach 136° F., and at Rajawadi-Baragaon, where the highest tested, near the river side at Baragaon gave a temperature of 147° F.

ART. X.—*Hamza Ispahani.*

By G. K. NARIMAN.

(Read 21st October, 1915.)

[A PEEP INTO ARABIC HISTORIES ON MATTERS IRANIAN.]

From the time the enlightened Government of Iran granted constitution to its subjects the Persian authorities have shown general spirit of liberality and wide religious outlook. In matters religious it has adopted a tone of tolerance, if not positive sympathy, towards alien beliefs. One cannot prophesy what the future has in store for this most ancient of monarchies. With the progress of Iran, however, our attraction to the land must necessarily increase, and it is a happy sign of the times that not long ago in Teheran itself the respected Government officials, sincere Moslems and learned Ulemas, assisted at the founding of a Zoroastrian school, and what is more astonishing, of a Fire shrine. The first onrush of the Arabs 13 centuries ago undoubtedly destroyed much of value of ancient Iran, but to say that the barbarities and vandalism perpetrated on the soil were committed only by Moslems is to ignore history and strifle truth. According to my humble studies much that was of priceless value in matters religious from ancient Iran was already annihilated by Alexander. Nor can I conscientiously blame all Arab historians for a prejudice against Zoroastrian Iranians. The extent of the subject corresponds to its importance and interest. We can only touch the fringe of it in an hour's discourse. We have only to remember that if we detest the spirit which has brought about the subversion of the Sasanian Empire, Moslem Persia to-day still cherishes an inextinguishable hatred for Omar-ibn Khattab, the conqueror of Iran. But the Iranis of to-day look to Iranism first and religion next. Even the Armenians and Jews and the Hindus from Shikarpur as itinerant merchants are treated without the slightest trace of religious intolerance, and it would be an affectation to deny that there is a positive attraction on the part of young Iran of to-day for the descendants of the brothers of their own ancestors. It behoves Parsis therefore to study, if not all, the Arabic literature, in itself a priceless treasure, at least such authors as were of Iranian descent or origin, whose mother-tongue was Persian, but who employed the Arabic language in the composition of their books. As a beginning towards that study I shall speak briefly to-day of Hamza of Ispahan; not because he was the

most prominent Iranophil or partisan of Iran among Arabic writers. There have been others who far exceeded him in their fervent love for their motherland, but because very little is known about him so far as I know in English books generally. Huart, Nicholson and even the most learned and sympathetic of modern Iran's friends, Prof. Browne of Cambridge, dismiss him in a few pages.

The Abbaside Dynasty of the Khalifs which began in the middle of the second century of the Moslem era synchronised with the flourishing period of Arabic literature. The Khalifs energetically endeavoured to support literature and to help men of learning and poets. That is now common knowledge. Especially more energetic in this direction were the Khalifs al-Mansur Harun-ar-Rashid and al-Mamun. They gathered together in their court literati from various countries and patronised literary undertakings. It is no news that the scholars of Baghdad and Damascus were less prejudiced than the Moslem men of learning whom Akbar attracted to his brilliant court. You know that the Ulama attached to the court of the Khalifs, studied with avidity, foreign languages and alien literatures of Greece and India and Iran. Badauni, our Indian Moslem historian, on the other hand, records the astonishment of himself and the Maulavis of Akbar who were sorely puzzled at the emperor's command to translate the Ramayana into Persian! Abdul Kader's pious soul revolted at Akbar's thirst for Hindu learning.

The political power, however, of the Abbasides did not last longer than a century. An interminable series of struggles debilitated the strength of the Khalifs. One province after another fought itself loose from the hands of the central power and presently the Khalifs were reduced to a state of nominal suzerainty in secular matters. The spiritual control over the masses, however, was of longer duration. But even in the middle and towards the close of the third Moslem century, under the unhappy rule of the weaker Khalifs, there were engaged in philological undertakings in the city of Basra, scholars like al-Mubarrad. There were men of learning in Baghdad and there were savants like Beladhuri, Ibn Qutaiba, and Tabari. In eastern Persia also, which was the country of contending nationalities, Arabic literature flourished for a long time. Above all, in spite of the storm and stress of the period, the capital Ispahan was not without its men of letters. The number of Arabic scholars of the Persian city was so considerable that special treatises were composed devoted to the life and labour of the scholars of Ispahan.

In the lands of Persia proper, moreover, in the tenth Christian century, modern Persian literature was gradually developing itself

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into the most powerful and at the same time common medium of literary intercourse for almost all the countries of Asia which were not under Mongolian influence. The Persian spirit proper, which has never died out, now revived and was revived into a life of strength and stamped much of the literary activity finding its expression in Arabic works with its own peculiar impregnation. Among the scholars of the time in whose Arabic works a particular Persian influence is perceptible comes "Hamza-ibn-Hasanal-Ispahani." We advisedly speak of Ispahani although he is better known as Isbahani. The Arabic language having no *h* commuted the equivalent of this consonant into either *b* or *f*. All reference to this historian in early European writings speak of Isbahani since the westerners came to know of the Persian historian only through his Arabic works.

Although the majority of his works, of which only a few are preserved to us, treated of philological matters, "Hamza is noted for his excellence as a historian, as the author of the 'Annals'" and of the history of Ispahan which is so frequently mentioned. It was the 'Annals' which early directed the attention of European scholars for Hamza. Of course the early European scholars made certain mistakes. It was only latterly that the Persian author was fully identified and appreciated. Harbelot, for instance, confuses Hamza Ispahani with Mahomed's uncle who bore the same name. Shultens, Rasmusen, Reiske, all drew upon Hamza for some of their materials in the history of ancient Arabs. It was Sylvestre de Sacy who in 1833 subjected to an ingenious and critical examination Hamza's chronologies of the Persian kings with the contemporary rulers of Yamen and Hira. Finally, the entire text of the 'Annals' was published with a Latin translation by Gottweldt in 1848, in the city we now know as Petrograd.

I propose first to cursorily examine, besides the historical works of Hamza, his philological activity, because Hamza had a consummate command of both Arabic and Persian, and his works are a store house of information on the interrelation of the two languages.

HAMZA'S LIFE.

HIS LITERARY SOURCES.

What the Arabic sources supply to us regarding the life and career of Hamza is very meagre. Even the celebrated Fihrist here does not give much help. We shall have to speak often about this famous book in the course of our paper. We may as well call back to mind a

few salient features of this monument of Arabic literature. The Fihrist was composed about 998 A.D. by an-Nadhim. It is a kind of catalogue or list, scientifically arranged and most conveniently grouped, of all the books in Arabic that existed in his time. Not only does he give us brief notices of the books, but he has to tell us a good deal of the lives of the authors of whom he treats. The description of the various ancient alphabets that he gives is of absorbing interest. In fact, the knowledge of the European scholars of the peculiarities of the Pahlavi language so to say, was first obtained from the indication given of it in the Fihrist. It notices books that were originally composed in Arabic and it dilates on a number of works that were translated into Arabic from various languages like Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, but what is more of interest to us from Pahlavi. The chapters that he devotes to translators are themselves mines of information and they have been continually worked at from early times, and yet there is a good deal that is not made accessible in any European language. As I have elsewhere more than once indicated, we should be failing in our duty if in the case of this book we omitted to mention the labours of the late Shams-ul-Ulema Shibli Naomani, who was, so far as I know, the only Indian authority, who fully appreciated the worth of the Fihrist, and wrote a number of valuable and highly interesting essays on the ancient literature upon which the Arabs had drawn, and to which references abound in the Fihrist. The essays are in Urdu, and they were published by the Nidvat-ul-Ulema of Lucknow, of which Shibli was the founder, and with which he was connected almost to the time of his unexpected death. Although English Orientalists have of recent years done much to enlighten us with reference to the contents of the Fihrist, it was continental scholars who were the first to see the real merit of this landmark of Arabic literature. For the generality of the Parsi community, the works of Professor Browne of Cambridge may be supplemented very advantageously by the essays of Shibli which, by the way, were published long before the Western Oriental scholars devoted themselves to a systematic investigation of the Fihrist. Shibli's achievements are perfectly independent of western researches, although so early as 1862 Flügel made use of the Fihrist in his life of Mani, the Iranian heresiarch. Before him it was drawn upon by the Russian scholar Chwolsohn in his work on the Sabians in 1856. Interesting notices here and there of it have been given by Brockelmann in his standard history of Arabic literature in German, published in 1856-1902. Justice to the accuracy and historical authenticity of the information of the Fihrist is done by Blochet in his Pahlavi Grammar published in 1905. Quatremere translated a highly interesting passage so early as 1840 from the Fihrist on the different

modes of writing Persian. The sidelights which this erudite book affords on the inner history of Persia and its civilisation demand the close and systematic study of it on part of the Parsi community which it owes to a book which has, in a manner unique in the whole range of Arabic literature, preserved for us vestiges of the sources of Iranian influence on Moslem civilisation. It was the Fihrist, to give one concrete instance, which enabled us to establish with an unquestionable certainty the direct Iranian origin of the Arabian Nights, apart from the problem whether or not, ultimately the Persians were indebted for the fascinating stories to the inventive genius of the Indians and their Sanskrit literature. That an-Nadhim was not drawing on his imagination for the information that he gives us has been demonstrated by several books of which his description exactly tally with the fragments that have descended to us. I am not speaking in this paper, however, on an-Nadhim and his Fihrist. Still in a paper like this it may be permissible to mention the large number of Pahlavi works which have unfortunately totally perished, but of which an-Nadhim has to say a considerable deal. He refers to several books as anonymous being himself unable to ascertain their authorship. We have a mention of the "Book of Rustam and Isfandiyar" which was translated into Arabic by Jabala-ibn-Salim, a Book of the Crown of Auguries, of the Book of Shahrizad, a Book of biography of Anushirvan, Book of Dara and the golden Image, of the celebrated *Khodarnamch*, the Pahlavi nucleus, or more probably the Pahlavi original itself, which was finally elaborated into the epic of Firdausi. An-Nadhim alludes to a number of local histories connected with the Arab conquest of Fars, Kerman, Tabaristan. Then he describes such compositions as "Account of the army of Sapur," "the Book of the Gift which I saw in the writing of Kisra." Then there were compositions by authors who wrote in Arabic, but whose "origin was among the ancient Persians and who were vehemently prejudiced against the Arabs." Who but a religiously tolerant writer could hand down to posterity the names and literary labours of such pronounced Iranophiles? There were specific treatises on the "superiority of the Persians over the Arabs and their boastfulness." One Pahlavi book as translated into Arabic was specially consecrated to the study of the "Dignity of Hormaz, son of Kisra Nushirvan." Another to the "Places where the Persians were slain." A third to "Zad Farrukh on the instruction to his children." One still more to the "Mobeds under Buzurj-mihir." We have equally interesting books on "Accounts and Traditions," one on "Good manners and similitudes according to the sects of the Persians, Rumis, and Arabs." In one place we are informed that Jamasp was an alchemist and the author of a "Book on alchemy." What would we not give to-day to be able

to possess the book of the "Mobed of Mobeds on Government and assemblies and Good manners" or the book of the "Testament of king Nushirvan to his son" or the book which "Kisra wrote to Marzban and his answer," or the "Book of the king of Greece regarding the sending of Philosophers to the king of the Persians" or the "Book about Ardashir who commanded and caused to be brought from the treasures the books which the sages had composed on administration?"

Very unfortunately all that the Fihrist has to say touching Hamza is confined to the following words: "Hamza-ibn-al-Hasan belonged to the inhabitants of Ispahan. He was a scholar and an author," Ibn-Khallikhan, a valuable first-hand source, who makes mention of him often enough in his voluminous biographical dictionary, cites passages from his works and yet, strange and unfortunate, he has no special article on Hamza. The probable reason for this otherwise unaccountable omission is, according to Dr. Mittwoch on whom I mainly rely, that Ibn Khallikhan was unable to determine the year of Hamza's death. For his work is based on the principle of the exact known dates of death of the authors of whom he treats. Our next authority is Haji Khalfa. He quotes the titles of various of Hamza's works, but he gives no information of his life and career. Since a fourth authority Yaqut, in his biographical lexicon, frequently refers to Hamza and textually quotes a number of passages from his works, we might be inclined to assume that he most probably devoted a special article to Hamza in his biographical work called the *Muajam-al-Udaba*. Unfortunately this too, we cannot demonstrate inasmuch as this book of Yaqut's has descended to us in a mutilated form. Professor Margoliouth of Oxford was at pains to search in the manuscripts of the *Muajam* and he assures us of the omission.

All the more thankful we are, therefore, for the notice which we come across concerning Hamza in the *Tarikh Ispahan* of Abu-Nu'aim and in the *Kitab-al-Ansab* of Samani. Abu-Nu'aim had evidently used the history of Ispahan composed by Hamza. In his historical introduction he thrice quotes Hamza as the "Saheb Katab Ispahan." What has he to tell us about Hamza, however, is not much. Nor do we get any substantial information from Samani.

The last two sources, however, confirm our belief that our author was known also as Abu Abdallah, for in his edition of the *Diwan* or collected works of Abu Nuwas, wherever he has occasion to insert his own notes, Hamza begins them with *Kala Abu Abdallah* (Abu Abdallah says :)

Again both the sources agree that Hamza's father was a Muaddib or schoolmaster. They, however, differ as to the name of his father, one calling him al-Hasan and the other al-Husain. Probably al-Hasan has to be given preference, because he calls himself Hamza-ibn-al-Hasan in just the opening words of the edition of the collected works of Abu-Nuwas mentioned above. Moreover, this is the name that we meet with in the Fihrist, in Yaqut, in Biruni, Thalabi, in ibn Khallikan, and Maidani. Accordingly, the full name of our author was Abu-Abdallah-Hamza-ibn-al-Hasan-al-Ispahani. His name is spelt optionally with a *b* or *f* as we already saw and this variation is observable also in the Shah-Name. (See *Iranische althertuniskunde*, Vol. I, page 100); with reference to the name of the city. However, this is not a matter of great importance and we may only note in passing that in the majority of cases we find *b*.

We can with tolerable certainty determine the age of Hamza. According to what he himself says in the "Annals" he completed them in 961 A. D. There are other references in the same work to the Nauruz which also give a clue to his age at the various periods of his life. Obviously it is an oversight on the part of the great Hungarian scholar Goldziher who makes Hamza die in 350 A. H. Hamza survived the achievement of his great historical work by only a few years. For according to Samani he died before 360 A. H. In the fifth chapter of his history in which he deals with the "Chronicles of the Jews" Hamza gives us information supplied to him by a Jewish scholar in 308, in Baghdad. Further since Hamza was a pupil of Jawaliqi who died in 306 and since he refers in his "Annals" to the eight interesting occurrences in Ispahan during the years 291 and 344 as experienced by himself, we might perhaps place his birth somewhere about the year 280. Hamza, therefore, so far as we can determine, lived between the eighties of the third and the fifties of the fourth Islamic centuries. Brockelmann says that Hamza lived probably in the beginning of the fourth century in Baghdad. But Hamza's residence in Baghdad was always of a temporary character. In the beginning of the third chapter of the edition of Abu Nuwas, Hamza reports that in the year 223 he travelled for the third time to Baghdad for the purpose of collecting manuscripts and material for the poem. But even on this occasion, as he himself states, his sojourn in Baghdad was not of long duration, and we know that by the end of the same year he was again back in Ispahan. Moreover, in the passage to which we have referred in the "Annals" where he speaks of the remarkable occurrences in Ispahan, he mentions apparently as an eye-witness, the famine which devastated Ispahan during the period between the close of 323 and the commencement of 324. He says, *inter alia*, "and of the inhabitants of my city

of Ispahan died more than 200,000 people." (min ahale madinatiy Ispahan). In the year 50 a certain building in the neighbourhood of Ispahan suddenly collapsed and revealed some inscriptions the like of which no one had seen before. From the fact that Hamza was consulted on that occasion by the wondering inhabitants as to his opinion regarding the building, it is evident that Hamza was residing in Ispahan towards the close of his life and was looked up to with respect by the citizens. His permanent residence, therefore, was his native city of Ispahan, and therefore what the Fihrist says about him can reasonably be interpreted to mean that Hamza was an inhabitant of Ispahan and not merely that he was by descent a man from that city.

(Fihrist.—Hamzat bin al-Hasah min ahal Ispahan wa Kana adiban mussanifan, *i.e.*, Hamza bin Hasan belonged to Ispahan and was an accomplished author.)

Hamza's travels were so many excursions for the purpose of scientific pursuits. They afforded him opportunities to come in contact with celebrated expounders of Hadith, and the men whose disciple Hamza was according to two manuscript authorities of Samani and also Nuaim were thorough traditionalists. We shall see later on how Hamza profitably employed his visits to Baghdad for the purposes of his philological investigations. First of all, it is instructive from the standpoint of Moslem traditional literature to glance at the scholars versed in hadith who were Hamza's teachers. Jawaliqi was one of the most celebrated traditionalists of his age and author of several works. Yaqut calls him the greatest scholar of Ahwaz. He was well known for his marvellous memory. Qahatha about whose exact name there is a certain vagueness, was another of his masters. A third was Wasiti, a fourth was Tabari, though here too, we are far from certain whether it was the great historian or a namesake. Then there were Dharih and Nasair about whom we know little beyond their names.

On the other hand, there were pupils who perpetuated traditions (or accounts of events and occurrences supposed to refer to the Prophet and his immediate followers) as taught by Hamza. One such was Mirdawaihi (an Iranian name) who like Hamza himself was the author of a history of Ispahan, of a commentary on the Qoran and other works. Hamza studied traditions not as a speciality, but as one of the branches of learning with which a Moslem scholar ought to be acquainted. For we do not know of any special book of his dealing with hadith. His peculiar forte lay in history and philology and lexicography. As we said above, his journeys to Baghdad were under-

taken for the purpose of his deep studies as they brought him in close intimacy with the scholars of the city. Among the numerous authorities cited by Hamza in his works many are such as could have been familiar to him as brothers in letters.

Now we shall consider some of the scholars with whom he came into personal touch. Duraid is mentioned by Hamza in his philological works pretty frequently. Generally it is in brief notes that his authority is quoted. He was renowned as the "greatest poet among scholars and the greatest scholar among poets." Hamza describes in detail the circumstances under which he got acquainted with Muzarra. The passage is of some interest. In the year 323 he was on his third visit to Baghdad to study the manuscripts of the poems of Abu Nuwas which were in the possession of the family of Naubakht. He was introduced by the latter to Muzarra, for Muzarra was in possession of poems composed by Abu Nuwas in Egypt. From Muzarra Hamza learned all that could be known regarding Abu Nuwas's poetry. Nay more. When Muzarra noticed the enthusiastic efforts of Hamza's for the collection of Abu Nuwas's poems he himself composed a special risala or dissertation setting out in detail what he believed to be shortcomings of the poetry of Abu Nuwas. He particularly grouped together the verses which Abu Nuwas had borrowed from preceding poets. This he did in spite of the fact that he was a great admirer of Abu Nuwas.

His object in separating the couplets was to show that brilliant and witty as they were, they were not the production of Abu Nuwas. For they were all of a Bucchanian or erotic character and Muzarra was anxious that posterity should not associate Abu Nuwas's memory as a sober scholar and historian with lyrics of love and wine. The first risala on Abu Nuwas was dedicated to Hamza himself, and was sent on to him to Baghdad. Then Muzarra wrote another risala which was "Appreciation" of Abu Nuwas. By the time it was finished Hamza had left Baghdad. Consequently he was able to embody in his Diwan only the first risala. Hamza prefaces it with a few personal observations on the author.

Shuwair, another contemporary and friend, was more of a grammarian than anything else. Hamza himself describes him as *annahavi*. All his works the titles of which are known to us treat of grammatical themes. As regards the family of the Naubakht it is frequently alluded to by Hamza in his edition of Abu Nuwas. They were a celebrated family of Baghdad. They were of pure Iranian descent. They are mentioned in the *Fihrist* among the translators from the Persian into the Arabic. Parenthetically, wherever we read of a

translation from Persian into Arabic, as a rule it is obvious that by Persian the Arabs meant what we call Pahlavi and what western scholars call Middle Persian. Naubakht himself was an astronomer under the Khalif al-Mansur. (136-158 A. H.). Abu Nuwas was familiarly known to the Naubakhtian and had inscribed several of his poems to them. Ambari, another contemporary, has been highly praised on account of his astonishing familiarity with poetry in general. Another authority relied on by Hamza in his philological studies is another Isbahani. He was a genealogist and younger than Hamza. He is mentioned by the author of the Fihrist as a contemporary scholar. He is interesting to us as being the author of a history of Persia and of imperial genealogies. From these and other authorities Hamza critically studied Arabic and Persian literatures making a special study of proverbs and sayings both Arabic and Persian, tracing their sources and incidentally giving us anthropological and social sidelights. And one of the instructors who solved some of his difficulties, was this Isbahani himself familiar with matters Iranian.

What interests us in particular regarding Hamza is this circumstance. Like many other Arabic writers about whom we may take occasion to speak on future opportunities, Hamza was at pains to make enquiries in circles other than specifically Mahomedan for the furtherance of his scientific and historical studies. He turned to whichever quarter was likely to furnish him with the requisite information. He consulted Jews, Greeks and Zoroastrians. A Jew solved some of his difficulties with regard to the Old Testament in Baghdad in 308. Hamza suggested to him the preparation of a concise compilation of Israelite Chronology. These oral and written information from the Jew are at the basis of his fifth chapter of the "Annals."

How Hamza came by information for his account of Byzantine matters, is recorded by himself. A Greek prisoner was a servant of Abu Dulaf. He was at once a master of literary and colloquial Greek and at the same time had a working acquaintance with colloquial Arabic. His son, however, who was in Government service, was familiar with both the tongues, and it was this son who acted as interpreter between Hamza and his authority. The old Greek prisoner read from a Greek book and his son translated it into Arabic for Hamza. Hamza himself laid great store by this source of his information. And there is no doubt that he was personally convinced of it all. After narrating varying reports on this subject in his "Annals" based on Arabic versions of Greek writers, Hamza goes back to his own source and tells

us that the latter is worthy of unquestioned credence. For, he maintains that his own report was derived directly from a Greek whilst the authority, for instance, of al-Qadhi, rested on a basis where there was a possibility of misunderstanding the Greek original.

We are unfortunately handicapped by an absence of requisite Arabic works in the Bombay libraries to enable us to assign to Persian sources their true value in the works of Arab historians. From the brief notices which alone we can command it will be evident, however, that the Persian sources of Arab writers were by no means insignificant. In the case of Hamza he consulted Zoroastrian priests. This he states himself and is supported by Yaqut. They gave him among a good deal of what would now be held fantastic information, much reliable material on the history of the place names of Persia. The Arabs after the conquest of Iran mutilated the language and pronunciation of pure Persian almost beyond recognition. The case of Iran was similar in this respect to that of India some fifty years ago when the names of Indian cities were mispronounced by Europeans. It was one of the aims of the Shuubiyah to restore Persian names to their original and correct shape. The occurrence of Shuubiyah to my mind tempts me to what I believe would prove to be an exceedingly pleasant digression. But I will say only a few words about them. Browne and Nicholson have given in English a good description of their novel and beneficent activities. One day we may listen to the fascinating story of this society as related by Goldziher and Kremer if not by their original authorities. In a word, the Shuubiyah were a party of Irani Moslems who took upon themselves to glorify ancient Persia. They went even further. They ran down the Arabs and all that was connected with Arabia. Some Shuubiyah had the temerity even to attack the religion of the Arabs.

The Arabs, following the example of the Persians, were greatly interested in etymology. Very often the Persians supplied them with the correct scientific explanation of proper names. More often we are bound to admit the information was fanciful and based on what we should call popular etymology. Hamza consulted a Mobed regarding the name Basra and the reply given seems to have satisfied Hamza though it is antiquated according to our advanced philology. The same, probably another Mobed, gave him an account of the palace of Madain or Persepolis.

Obviously Hamza consulted the work of his predecessors in philology. Every one of his books evidences wide and many-sided reading. We may note here in passing a peculiarity of Arabic authors. What we know as quotations from previous writers was not unknown to them.

But the citing of the source was not recognised as a principle. Passage after passage is often quoted without mention of the source and as a rule these citations are verbatim. This is no plagiarism in the sense in which we regard the term. It was simply the peculiarity of those times. An indirect but important advantage of this practice to us is this: these citations have preserved for us most valuable material from books which as such have been lost. Thus there are descriptions preserved of the court of Persian kings and the ceremonies observed during the Sasanian times in works which do not directly bear on the theme. To give one specific instance, we have an old Iranian Arabic writer, Kistravi, preserved in a less ancient author, Ibn Qutaiba, describing in detail the festivities as they took place during the Nauruz days. The long passage positively revives Persia of old for us. It gives us a glimpse, but a true and vivid one, of the court life of bygone days. It strikes me that the passage itself is a close Arabic translation from Pahlavi. The Persian proper names unfamiliar to the scribes have been so mutilated. But I will, for the present, not judge it by my little Arabic and less Pahlavi. Now, to return to Hamza, he was an exception to the rule, and he gives us long quotations mentioning the origin. He mentions by name the authors and works which he lays under contribution and he equally mentions the authorities whom he controverts. Accordingly, in Hamza's writings a good many valuable passages are enshrined from works on Persian history which as such have been lost and the authorship of which we can, thanks to Hamza, satisfactorily trace.

This leads us to a brief survey of the works which Hamza consulted. The most important work which served Hamza for his historical account is the *Khudai Nameh* in its Arabic form which at least six different versions. The *Khudai Nameh* would demand a chapter by itself to do full justice to its origin and the variety of its translation into various languages. The history of its journey is not less fascinating than the history of the peregrination of the Panchatantra itself. Mohl has more or less exhaustively treated of this in the introduction to his translation of the *Shah Nameh*, which valuable dissertation has been done into English by Mr. Khandalvala. An interesting and long account is given by Baron Rosen in Russian, and the third and the most critical account is by Noeldeke in German. The latter, however, is unfortunately devoid of all sympathy with old Iran. My English translation of it is all but complete. Among other books consulted by Hamza were a historical work by Hisham Adi, and by Khwarzmi; he seems to have also drawn upon al-Balkhi and al-Quadhi; then, of course, upon Tabari and Ibn Qutaiba. According to Dr. Mittwoch in Hamza's work there are traces of assistance derived

from four grammarians of note including the Persian Sibawaihi, (you know that Sibawaihi is the Arab way of pronouncing Sibuyeh) and eight works on lexicography, nine works of popular proverbial literature of the Arabs, eleven miscellaneous works on the peculiar species of literature called *adab* which corresponds to what the French call belles lettres. A detailed examination of these works, however interesting, cannot be undertaken in this brief review of Hamza's literary career.

As regards Hamza's own productions, the following are worthy of note. We have to premise that a good many of his works have been lost. The authorship of about twelve books is imputed to him. They range over a variety of subjects including history, lexicography, and miscellaneous subjects comprised under the head of *adab*. Of these twelve books we possess three, namely, his history or "Annals," his collection of comparative proverbs, and his edition of the poet Abu Nuwas, and as we noted above, there are large sections from his lost works preserved in the books of later authors.

Hamza calls his history *Tawarikh sin muluk al ard wal ambiya*. He divides it into ten chapters and successively treats of general chronology and history of Persia, Rome, Greece, Egypt, Israel, then the Lakhmides, the Yamanides, the Himyars, the Kindites, and lastly, the Moslem dynasties, down to his own times. Hamza's treatment is neat and precise. Again and again he tells us that he has aimed at brevity. More exhaustive treatment is reserved in the first chapter for the history of Iran, and in the tenth for that of the Arabs. The sixth section of this tenth chapter might well be studied by the students of our religious calendar of the Parsis as it comprises a list of the Nawruz days from the first year to the 350th year of Higira in which Hamza completed his "Annals." He gives the month and date of the Arabic calendar on which the Persian New Year fell.

In the first chapter there is an instance of Hamza's intimate acquaintance with things Iranian and of his credulity regarding things etymological. He connects, for instance, the Arabic word *tarikh* with the Persian *mah ruz* (month and date). Such derivations from Persian are often to be met with in the "Annals." For example, the Arabic *sarir* (throne) is derived from *takht saghir* and *barid*, the animal on which was carried the post in the times of the Khalifate, from the Persian *baridah dumb*, the docketed tail. He, however, rendered some service to his fatherland by reducing to their proper original forms the corrupted names of geographical places of Persia.

As is common with other Arabic writers, whenever Hamza has to relate something about which he himself is sceptical, he makes a

plentiful use of the pious expression *wa hua aalpm*.—He knows the best, which is sometimes substituted for the longer expression *wa hua aalam bis sawab*.

Hamza's "Annals" have been utilised by Biruni in his celebrated work on chronology and by the unknown author of *Mujmil at tawarikh*, a work composed in 520 in Persian. This work, as can be judged from a comparison, is almost a word for word Persian translation of Hamza's sections relating to the history of Persia. Hence, by the way, its valueless nature as an independent history.

Hamza's *Kitab Isbahan* is lost. But what it contained can, to some extent, be determined. He quotes it in the "Annals." Yaqut has borrowed a passage from it, concerning a family of scholars settled in Ispahan. We are more fortunate with regard to Hamza's collection of comparative proverbs. It has come down to us though it awaits an editor. The book is mentioned in the *Fihrist* and is described by Haji Khalfa under the title of *Katab amsal ala afal*. There is a complete manuscript of it in Munich. It is instructive to note that al Maidani after the particular fashion of those days has almost entirely incorporated this work of Hamza into his own book. The *Fihrist* again is our solitary authority for ascribing to Hamza a *Baccad* book of songs which has not been spared to us by time. Less than a generation of Moslem copyists have probably declined to perpetuate the verses offensive to puritans. Whether he was their author or not, there is no doubt, however, that Hamza was familiar with the lighter literature of the Arabs and very probably his contribution to that species of lively entertainment was not insignificant. Hamza's important book devoted to the poetry of the old Arabs, is of course the edition of the collected works of Abu Nuwas. It is curious that though we have no reason to doubt the authorship of this edition, it is nowhere specifically ascribed to Hamza in the Arabic source books.

A collection of Hamza's own essays is known under the title of *Kitab rasail*. One of these essays is cited by Biruni. It treated of the very interesting subject of special poems composed on the two great national festivals of ancient Iran, namely, the *Nairus* and the *Mihri jan*. For long after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs the national festivals of pre-Mahomedan times continued to be celebrated with all their former éclat and they have been studied in engrossing detail not only by scholars like Kremer and Goldziher, but by the numerous western travellers who have from time to time visited Persia. A philological work of Hamza's called the *Katab al Tambih*, (not to be confounded with a similarly named work of Masudi) has been cited at length by Yaqut. It deals with the five dialects current

in Persia, namely, Pahlavi, the Dari, the Persian proper, the dialect of Khuzistan, and what is called the dialect of Syria. Goldziher is of opinion that Hamza had written a special book with the object of proving the distortions brought about by ignorant Arabs in the pronunciation of Persian names of men and places. A book called *Katab al-Muwazana* written by Hamza is attested by citations preserved in the work of Thalibi and by a fragment in the Khedivial Library at Cairo. It was written with the purpose of treating ancient geographical names. Peurile as it may appear to us, Yaqut's quotations from Hamza on the derivation of such names as the *Jaihn*, *Ispahan*, *Sagistan* and all proper names ending in *mah* are instructive. They, at any rate, testify to Hamza's or rather his authority's vivid imagination.

HAMZA'S POSITION AS AN ARABIC WRITER.

There is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the attitude taken up by Hamza with reference to the parties into which the Arabic world of letters was divided, one defending the ancient civilisation of Iran, and the other decrying it and exalting the superiority of the Arab culture. In other words, it is not yet established whether Hamza was a declared *Shuubiya* or not. Goldziher who is supported by Brockelmann is of opinion that Hamza was a defender of the ancient civilisation. He was in fact an Iranophil. Dr. Mittwoch, however, controverts this view. He believes that Hamza, though fully conscious of his Persian descent, does not manifest open *Shuubite* leanings in the sense that he fulminated of set purpose, against Arabs or their language or that he favoured Persia and the Persians at the expense of the Arabs, in a spirit of unreasoning bias. Hamza's work bears a special personal stamp. He went wherever possible into detail on matters Persian, and he was a critic as criticism went in those days. But his criticism was not actuated by personal idiosyncrasies. He leaves no opportunity to extol the Arabs and their achievements where they were in his opinion deserved, and he is not slow to reproach the Persians where he finds them unreliable and arrogant. He did not hate the Arabs as Arabs, and he refrained from absurd adulation of the Persians as Persians. We will give some instances.

Hamza speaks in glowing terms of Khalil who was a pure Arab and who was the creator of the Arabic metre. He gives him high praise, but considering the circumstances perhaps not too high. Without entering into the facts as to whether certain vices attributed to old Iran were indigenous to the nation, we may also indicate that if Hamza was a blind partisan of Iran he would not have given his opinion regarding them as candidly as he does in a remarkable passage. On the other

hard it goes without saying that Hamza was of pure Iranian blood and evinces warm interest in his mother tongue which he probably preferred to Arabic though the exigencies of the age compelled him to compose his works in the language of the rulers. Hamza and his Iranian contemporaries and successors for centuries were situated similarly to ourselves. We employ English in our general affairs though our Indian vernacular is the home language of most of us. To prove him a Shuubiya, too much seems to have been made of the ridicule passed by him "on the mendacity of the Arabs." But if we examine the circumstances in which the observation was made by Hamza it is difficult to draw the inference of his hostility to the Arabs as a nation. In explaining the Arabic proverb *akal nin Lukman al Adi*, i.e., more voracious than Lukman al adi, Hamza's gloss on the saying is this. "They believe that Lukman al Adi used to devour a whole camel for breakfast and at dinner, this belongs to the falsehood of the Arabs." Perhaps the real explanation is that here by "Arab" is meant the Beduin who is looked down upon by the city Arabs as a barbarian. This and another passage of equally trivial import, which have both been borrowed by Maidani, are by no means an index of Hamza's antagonism to Arabs. It is only the consequence of his fearless critical investigation.

To us of real absorbing interest is his observation made in his "Annals" relating to the religious scriptures of the Persians which he clearly denominates *al abesta* and which he only mentions to laugh at. He expressly states that he refers to this Abesta, which of course, is only the Arabic form of Avesta, at the close of his chapter in order that the reader might perceive its fabulous character. The Avesta, in his view is to be looked upon just like the legends of about Lukman Adi or like the anecdotes of the Israelites. This must suffice to show that whatever leanings Hamza had towards Iran were not inspired by an uncritical spirit of vulgar partiality, and hence the value of whatever he has to say regarding the antiquities of Persia. We need not stop to discuss his opinion on the Avesta. We do not know what portion precisely of the Avesta was communicated to him. We do not know if it was the text or the commentary. And may we not doubt if really it was the Avesta or a genuine section of it which was imparted to him; although he tells us in so many words that what he consulted was a rendering of the Avesta: *Karatu fi Kitab nuqela min Kitabihim al-musamma bil Abesta*, i.e., I have read in a book translated from their book entitled the Avesta. As to the contents of the Avesta as analysed by our modern judgment, Max Muller has for all time effectively replied to those who would approach the ancient Oriental scriptures with the spirit of sciolistic levity. A literal word for word

translation of a passage from the Old Testament, or an Upanishad, or a Surat of the Quran will not read more coherent than any other writing not necessarily religious of the same age and country.

Hamza's book of parallel proverbs commented upon 1800 sayings of the Arabs, and in a sort of appendix to it are discussed critically 500 Arabic words. These sayings are of interest to the anthropologist. The Arabs came into contact with numerous animals whose nature and characteristics they studied with their keen observation. Hamza observes that just as the standard of comparison among the Arabs was some one or other of the animal kingdom, so was the case also with the Persians. Thus he quotes the wise Persian saying according to which a man was considered fit for military service only when he had the heart of a lion, the energy of a wolf, the strategem of a fox, the patience of a cat, the circumspection of a crow, the watchfulness of a crane, the sense of locality possessed by a dove, and the defensive tactics of a wasp. For a king, in another example, he suggests, are necessary, the intrepidity of a fly, the power of the ant and the craftiness of the woman. When this was reported to a king, relates Hamza from Persian, he was angry, and was pacified when told that a fly is so bold that it settles on the nose of the king, the ant is so strong that it carries a load heavier than itself which is not what an elephant can do, and that a woman is so cunning that she overcomes the most scheming of men. And saturated as his mind was in the popular and proverbial wisdom of the Persians, he quotes Buzurjimihr. The latter was questioned as to how he managed to attain the success he had gained. The sage's reply was, "because I got up earlier than the crow, I was voracious about knowledge like a swine, and because I had the energy of a wolf and the patience of a cat." In illustrating an Arabic maxim which emphasises the sharp hearing faculty of the cock, Hamza refers to Aristotle and proceeds to say "it is therefore that the Iranians also call the cock the son of the Sun." In commenting upon the Arabic proverb "ahar min an-anar" (hotter than fire), Hamza says "this is an Arabic saying which stands in a contrast with an Indian one; since Kalila says, for every fire there is something which can extinguish it. For the natural fire there is water, for the poison there is its antidote, for affliction there is patience, for love there is separation but the fire of enmity can be quenched by nothing." Here the word which we have translated by Indian is *ajam*, since Hamza always uses the word *Furs* in designating the Persians. I need not remind you that Kalila is the Pahlavi incarnation of our old friend Kartaka of the Panchatantra which was translated into Pahlavi and subsequently through the Arabic into the numerous languages of Europe and Asia. One more maxim and we will leave Hamza's

museum of popular beliefs crystallised in Persian proverbs. With reference to the Arabic saying *aamar min hayya* (longer-lived than the snake) Hamza instructs us that the Arabs believed that a serpent never dies of itself. It has always to be killed. And he compares the saying with a Persian saying which makes an onager live 80 years, an eagle 300, but the serpent lives for ever unless killed.

The last chapter of the book which is in the shape of an appendix, consists of 30 tales, some of which are animal stories and others illustrating the various superstitious ideas and customs of the ancient Arabs which invests the chapter with a peculiar value for anthropologists. It treats of the evil eye diseases and other calamities, and deals at length with their remedies, antidotes, and exorcisms. Both the contemporary Persians and Arabs were superstitious. And which nation is not? Especially was developed among them the art or science of omens and portents and there is no doubt that the modern *Fa'al* names all go back to at least the Sasanian era, if not further back. Thanks again, to the Arab custom of embodying in one's own book large citations from one's predecessors, we have, descended to us, a very important substantial chapter on the science of omens and portents as practised in the Sasanian times. We shall have occasion to speak in detail about certain superstitions current which are not yet extinct among us and which some are inclined to trace to Hindu influence. They reveal to us the social and domestic life—the life of the hearth and the market place. And here the Iranian Annalist often excelled his contemporary fraternity and sometimes modern historians. For some of them had a truer sense of the historical science than could be looked for in those times. If my memory serves me right, it is Dinawari who tells us in his preface that he has aimed at giving a picture of the life of former times rather than record how A killed B and C invaded D, and so on, till history is lost in a chronicle of butchery, perfidy and lust of mankind. The superstitions of the old world Arab was a favourite theme with scholars of Hamza's times, and we have in the second part of the second book of Nuwiri an exhaustive collection of the superstitious notions which correspond with that of Hamza to an extent which would lead one to suppose borrowing on one side or the other. The possibility, however, is not precluded that both Hamza and Nuwiri drew upon a self same anterior source. The last chapter contains the names of 17 various amulets or charms used by the Arabs. Hamza says that each of the 17 was accompanied in former days with a formula of abjuration, though in his time only seven were known. With this seven magical sentences the book closes. As may well be expected Hamza's treatises on proverbs became very popular and soon found many imitators. The

greatest of these imitators, who in a manner surpassed Hamza was Maidani. He is the best known representative of the proverbial literature of the Arabs in Europe. We have already observed that this author has entirely incorporated the work of Hamza into his. Maidani, however, makes acknowledgments to Hamza and mentions that he studied and made extracts from fifty works before he set out on his own composition. It is remarkable that Maidani omits all parallels to Persian grammatical usages and proverbs to which Hamza has given a prominent place. This is curious inasmuch as Maidani himself was an Irani by birth and was the author of a dictionary and syntax of the Arabic language treated in Persian.

Unquestionably scholars like Maidani and his compatriots like the famous Qoran annotator Zamakhshari, employed freely the Persian language in their ordinary everyday life intercourse. That is clear from some of the humorous anecdotes which have reached us. Zamakhshari, for example, is reported out of jealousy for Maidani, to have maliciously punned upon his name and called al-Maidani, by a slight change in the spelling of his name, an-Namidani, that is to say, "the ignorant." Similarly al-Maidani corrupted Zamakhshari's name into Zan-Kharid (woman-bought). Thus we see that though the language of books of learning was Arabic authors were thoroughly conversant with Persian, a familiarity which accounts for their friendly intercourse with the Zoroastrians and the information they supply us regarding the latter. And this familiarity with Persian accounts for the fact that Persian phrases, sentences, and sometimes whole verses are to be met with in Arabic histories. Here the copyists ignorant of Persian and conversant only with Arabic have taken strange liberty with their texts. Mathematicians are believed to experience a peculiar delight when they come upon the solution of a problem which has taxed their patience for some time. We should imagine Sachau, Justi (in his *Namen buch*) and Huart to have had like joy when they restored, for instance, Nahr Arda to Mehr Adar, and the senseless maskuriya to mushk danch (grain of musk). Perhaps the result would be out of proportion to the labour entailed in seeking out Persian passages from voluminous histories such as Tabari's. But those who can afford an intellectual luxury, I would recommend reference to the text published by the Dutch scholar De Goge, Vol. II, page 724, lines 6-12; Vol. III, page 65, lines 14-15; Vol. III, page 921, line 11, &c.

Talking of Arabic historians who have minutely gone into ancient Persian history, I might incidentally remark that not only every Arabic historian feels himself bound to treat generally the Persian history, but he often devotes what may appear dispro-

portionately large amount of his book to matters Persian. Take for example, another Arab historian of whom our community has not made, I fear, sufficient study, namely, Ibn Athir. He refers to Jamshed and describes the king as the first who built bridges. He gives a detailed account of all the Persian dynasties, and as usual, his voluminous chapters on this subject have been borrowed and condensed in a form perhaps much more acceptable to our age than to the leisurely days of yore, by Ibn Qutaiba. Ibn Athir has much to say on the cities founded by Ardashir which differs from the account of Tabari on the one hand, and of Hamza on the other. His treatment of the mazdakite heresy, of the life and career of Zaradusht, of Shapur, surnamed Dhul Aktaf, Kaisra Anusharwan, all are there awaiting the enthusiast whose effort should be its own reward, to be studied comparatively with other sources. The mention of Ibn Athir (to whom I was very kindly first directed by the Right Honourable Justice Ameer Ali, then a Judge of the Calcutta High Court) puts me in mind of two other Arabic authors of note who are by no means exceptional, but are, I should say, typical. They evidence the care and attention bestowed upon matters Iranian in general, in the course of set histories or essays or general literature, or poetry by Arabic writers. The Arabs had great fascination for the wisdom of the Persians and their eloquence. They imitated and elaborated the Persian art of letter-writing. Anything, indeed, that they saw in ancient Iranian books which invited their imitation they were fain to hand down to posterity. Look then for a moment into Baihaki. He refers to the wise sayings of Buzerjmehar. He narrates anecdotes about king Kobad. He stops to digress on the battle of Zu-kar. He notes the eloquence of Anushirwan and relates legends, stories, and histories about that king; he refers to wonders of the cities and towns on the Caspian Sea; he tells you stories of Parvez, and semi-legendary accounts of the last of the Sasanians. Again and again, he reverts with admiration to the sagacity and foresight of the kings of Iran as disclosed in their apothegms. He relates the story of Behram and the daughter of the Merzban, the wise saws of Behramgor, the proverbial wisdom of the Mobed of Parvez. No Arab writer refers to Buzerjmehar without referring to him again. I am afraid they are not likely to usurp your memory or haunt your dreams. But surely his philosophy must have something in it when it fascinated the out and out practical genius of the Arabs. There is a lovely story in Baihaki referring to a dispute between the Arabs and the Persians on "Guests and Hospitality," where the Persian is easily assigned the palm. Baihaki quotes in the original Persian some of the proverbs attributed to Anushirwan.

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One passage in Baihaki it is difficult for me to pass over without comment. He refers to inscriptions on Persian *Naks* or tombs.

It opens up quite a field for search. One will find an efficient stimulant to further study on the subject in the papers read before learned societies by the representative scholar of our community Shams-ul-Ulema Dr. Modi. First among Indians, he has already enlightened you on the astodan. It deserves to be studied in connection with the Persian mode of the disposal of the dead. These references to Persian things are not to be found in set separate chapters. They are scattered over whole books. Only a patient search of them will throw light on the obscure past of Iran.

Another Arabic book called *Al Mahasin wal addad* likewise abounds in allusions to the Persian court, its sovereigns, their pomp and circumstance, and a super-abundance of proverbs and sayings, witticisms, jests, superstitions, beliefs, ceremonials, and courtly etiquette of old Iran.

To come back to Hamza whom we have, I fear, left out in the cold in our warm admiration of others, his critical edition of Abu Nuwas analyses those idioms and expressions of the Arabic poets which are direct loans from the Persian, and he everywhere lays his finger on the Persian words which have served him so well in expressing Abu Nuwas's genius. To take a sample of Hamza's Persian philological commentary. This is his derivation of the word "mahachin." "This is a name for China. Here the name of the moon and a proper noun are combined, because "mah" is the name of the moon and "chin" is the term for China. The cause of this combination of the place name and the name of the moon is that the Persians were in the habit of calling "mah" moon, every country abounding in vegetation. Hence also the name "Mah-Sejan" for "Sagestan." This explanation is further amplified in another book as we learn from Yaqut, who quotes the entire passage where also occur "Mahachin" and "Sagestan" and there the whole passage concludes with the following note: "I assume, though I have not heard it, that the Persians added the term "mah" which means "moon" to the names of the countries rich in vegetation, because the moon exercises an influence upon moisture and water of which no vegetation is independent."

A partial analysis of the contents of Abu Nuwas's work has been made by Ahlwardt and we may glance at the list of contents. It certainly is not insipid. Chapter I deals with the merits of Abu Nuwas's poetry and his art and treatment of verse. Chapter II is

controversies with poets and incidents in connection with them and with musicians. Then follow the chapters in which the poetry of Abu Nuwas is divided into the headings of panegyric, dirge, approbation, satire, repentance, hunting, wine (khamriyat), chapters on Muammat, and Mudhakkarat which were demanded, possibly as much by the literary mode of the day as by the personal inclination of the poet, and a final chapter on wit and humour. On the eighth chapter containing hunting songs, Hamza notes that 71 of the verses were found by him in some of the manuscripts, while others did not have them, and he is accordingly inclined to look upon them as spurious. The introduction to the ninth chapter contains Hamza's observation that this section abounds in interpolations and he has rejected some verses as not genuine, but that he found it difficult to weed the whole section of the excrescences which were unjustifiably attributed to Abu Nuwas. Further, like a modern critic, Hamza sets apart the verses of Abu Nuwas which have been borrowed from or employed by foregoing poets and groups together such as have served as a model to his successors. His commentary is not confined to the verbal elucidation. He makes wide observations and references to fields other than that of poetry. Sometimes his learned notes stretch into long excurses. However interesting these may be they must yield to your convenience. We have no more time for Hamza this evening.

A Meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay was held at the rooms of the Society in the Town Hall on Thursday, the 21st instant, when Rev. Dr. Machichan was in the Chair.

Mr. G. K. Nariman's paper on "Hamza Ispahani, a peep into Arabic Histories on matters Iranian" was read. The following is an outline of Mr. Nariman's Paper :

In the lands of Persia proper, in the tenth Christian Century, modern Persian literature was gradually developing itself into the most powerful and at the same time common medium of literary intercourse for almost all the countries of Asia which were not under Mongolian influence. The Persian spirit proper, which had never died out, now revived and was revived into a life of strength and stamped much of the literary activity finding its expression in Arabic works with its own peculiar impremature. Among the scholars of the time in whose Arabic works a particular Persian influence is perceptible comes, Hamza-ibn-Hasan-al-Ispahani. Hamza is noted for his excellence as a historian, as the author of the "Annals." The entire text of the

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"Annals" was published with a Latin translation by Gottwaldt in 1848, in the city we now know as Petrograd.

The author of the paper cursorily examined Hamza's Historical works and his philological activity, giving a short outline of his life and his literary sources. Hamza lived in the tenth century A. D. He consulted Jews, Greeks, and Zoroastrians for his materials. He consulted Zoroastrian priests, who, among a good deal of what would now be held as fantastic information, gave him much reliable materials on the history of the place-names of Persia. Among some of the works which he consulted, one was the Arabic form of the Khudai Nameh referred to by Firdausi, as one of the sources of his materials for the Shah-nameh. His "Annals" have been utilized by Alberuni. Among some of the interesting things one finds in Hamza's work, the following would specially interest Parsees : References to the old Persian Calendar, the original of the Shah-nameh, the Avesta, Jamshedi Navroz, Khudai Nameh, destruction caused by Alexander the Great by fire and his slaughter of the Mobeds, etc.

seem to have been the hereditary enemies of the Maukharis of Kanauj.¹ When news spread abroad, and in ancient India, in spite of the absence of railways and telegraphs, news always spread very quickly, that Prabhākara was dead and that his son Rajya had gone on an expedition against the Huns, Deva Gupta of Malwa thought it an opportune moment to attack the young king Grahavarma of Kanauj. He suddenly marched on that city, killed Grahavarma in a surprise attack and taking his queen Rajyashri a prisoner, inhumanly confined her like an ordinary delinquent, loaded with iron fetters, in a prison. He thought himself now strong enough to invade the kingdom of Thaneser itself and commenced his march towards its capital, though his ally and friend Saśanka Gupta of Karnasuvarna or Bengal, who had already marched to his assistance, had not yet arrived. It is not difficult to understand that the Guptas of Bengal like the Guptas of Malwa were smarting under the supremacy of the Maukharis of Kanauj, who had supplanted the power of the imperial Guptas and established their sway upto the Brahmaputra, and were only waiting for an opportunity to wreak their vengeance on them. It is also possible to conceive that the two Guptas were leagued against Thaneser and Kanauj, because the kings of the latter two were now Buddhists. No doubt religious differences, in ancient India, at least in the seventh century, were not of much animosity but still such differences might accentuate political enmities already existing and the kings of Bengal and Malwa

¹ The Apsad inscription above mentioned which gives the genealogy of the later Guptas of Magadha as they are called is of great importance to us in this history. Adityasena, whose inscription it is, probably ruled in Magadha or some country near as this inscription along with others of his was found there. But no country is mentioned either of the original ancestor as usual or of any descendant in any inscription. The genealogy given in this Apsad inscription is as follows:—

1. Krishna Gupta; 2. Harsha Gupta; 3. Kumar Gupta who fought with Isvaravarama probably a Maukhari; 4. Damodara Gupta who was killed in a fight with Maukhari (race only mentioned यो मौखरेः समितिषूदत हूणसैन्या, etc.); 5. Mahasena Gupta who also fought with one Sushitavarma, also a Maukhari probably. (श्रीमत्सुस्थित वर्म युदं विजय स्त्राघा पदाङ्कं मुहुर्वस्यायापि विबुद कुन्दकुमुदसुण्णाच्छ हासावतम् । लौहित्यस्य तटेषु शीतरत्नलेषुत्कुलनागद्रुमच्छाया सुत विबुद सिदमिथुनैः स्फीनं यशो गीयते) : 6. Madhava Gupta who was probably with Harsha for his panegyric has a line श्रीहर्षदेव निजसंगम वाङ्मयाच्च although not finished and therefore somewhat doubtful; and 7. Adityasena Gupta, the inscriber and his queen Konadevi. It appears plain from this that three ancestors of Madhava Gupta, a contemporary of Harsha, fought with three generations of the Maukharis. The enmity of the Guptas and the Maukharis seems thus to have been hereditary and it is probably this enmity which explains the sudden attack on Kanauj by a Deva Gupta probably belonging to this Gupta family. The Maukharis seem to have generally had the upperhand as appears from H. C. (Bomb.), p. 452. तिभिरे स्तिरस्कारोदेः यो मौखराणां मालवेः परिभवः : Who Deva Gupta was we will try to explain in a special note.

might have been united in harbouring a wish to run down Grahavarma of Kanauj and Rajyavardhana of Thanester who were also both young and inexperienced at this time.

Such was the grave news which reached Rajya, just raised to the throne of Thanester and not yet rested from his fight with the Huns. He was, however, a valiant and an undaunted warrior. Setting his grief aside he started immediately, with a view to speedily reach his enemy, with a mobile force of 10,000 horse under the command of his trusted general, Bhandi, who was his compeer and cousin, being the son of his maternal uncle. In spite of entreaties he left Harsha, his younger brother behind at Thanester both as a matter of convenience and precaution. He surprised his enemy Deva Gupta by the suddenness of his movement and totally defeated him, the latter being probably killed in action. He marched on to the relief of Kanauj and met Sasanka of Bengal on the way. The wheel of Destiny which was evidently working from the first in favour of Harsha now had a third turn and engulfed Rajya in its working. Sasanka was unequal to face Rajya and resolved to rid himself of his enemy by a bold stroke of treachery. He offered his submission to the youthful king of Thanester and promised to give his daughter in marriage to him in atonement for his fault¹. Such was the usual Kshatriya fashion to patch up differences between contending kings. Rajyavardhana, straight and confiding, without arms and with a few followers only, went to the camp of Sasanka and while at a feast was treacherously murdered by that unscrupulous king. He, then, without attempting to try conclusions with Rajya's army commanded by Bhandi, as suddenly marched back from Kanauj to his kingdom as he had marched to it; while a Gupta chief who was in charge of the city of Kanauj quietly released Rajyashri from confinement² and sent her away, in order probably to divert the attention of Bhandi.

Such were the strange, yet not improbable, circumstances which, within a few months of the year 606 A. D. (about May), placed Harsha on the throne of Thanester at the early age of 16³. They have been very

¹ The commentator on Harsha-Charita makes this suggestion which is very likely.

तथाहि तेन शशाङ्कः विश्वासार्थं कन्याप्रदानमुपवा प्रलम्बितो राज्यवर्धनं स्वगेहे क्षानुचरो भुञ्जान एव दृष्ट्वा व्यापादितः ॥ H. C., p. 241

² कान्यकुब्जादौडसंभ्रमंगुप्तितो गुप्तनाम्ना कुलपुत्रेण निष्कासनं निर्गताया राज्यवर्धन मरणं प्रवर्ण...सर्वमभ्रुणोत्परिजनत ॥ H. C., page 331.

³ From the Harsha-Charita some idea may be formed of the probable and exact age of Harsha. We have added a note trying to fix his exact age. But it may be noted here that Rajya appears from Harsha-Charita to have been three years older than Harsha and Harsha about two years older than Rajyashri. When Kumara and Madhava were given to them as

eloquently related by Bana, the most famous prose writer of Sanskrit literature, who was Harsha's contemporary and protegee, and they are supported to a considerable extent by the account of Hiuen Tsang, the most famous and trustworthy traveller of China who was honoured for his Buddhist learning and piety by Harsha. Young as he was, Harsha was a man of extraordinary courage, ability and good fortune like his remote successor Akbar who fought his first battle at 14, ascended the throne of Dehli a few months later and assumed absolute power at 18. He resolved at once on punishing the dastardly Gupta of Bengal and on rescuing the unfortunate queen of Kanauj. He harnessed his army of elephants, horses and men with a view not only to conquer Bengal but the whole of India, for he well surmised that the whole country would be arrayed against him, unfriended and inexperienced as he apparently was. To quote the poetic expression of Bana he therefore asked his foreign secretary to write to all the kings of India to *proffer either battle or submission*. He started immediately on this *Digvijaya* or expedition for the conquest of the four quarters. His first camp was pitched on the banks of the Sarasvati, only a few miles east of Thanesar and the Patel or headman of the village came forward to receive his king at this first halting place and offered the customary *nussar* of a gold coin marked with a bull and specially struck a new for the occasion, on the palm of his hand. Harsha, while picking up the coin, accidentally let it go and it fell on the muddy bank of the Sarasvati imprinting the soft soil with its impression. Persons present stood aghast at this ill omen happening at the very outset of his march for *Digvijaya*, but Harsha, with undaunted courage and wit, remarked that it was a good omen as it plainly indicated that the earth would soon be stamped with the sign of his sovereignty. To a man of such strength and presence of mind no advice was needed, yet his minister had implored him to guard himself against possible treachery giving him a score of examples how in past times kings had been murdered by various devices by wily persons, both male and female. Thankfully accepting his minister's advice and entrusting his kingdom to the proper persons, Harsha had set forth on his conquering expedition and now marched towards Kanauj. He met Bhandi on the way and with tears in his eyes heard from him again the story of Rajya's murder. He saw the army of elephants captured from the defeated king of Malwa as also the vast treasure secured and the family and courtiers of the king all put in chains in return for his savage treatment of Rajyashri. He learned,

companions Kumara is said to be 18 years of age. अष्टादशवर्षवयसं (H.C. p. 196). Rajyashri was married about a year after this and Prabhakara's death might have happened a year later. If we take Rajya to be about the same age as Kumara Rajya sees us at this time to be about 19 years of age and Harsha about 16 when he came to the throne of Thanesar.

however, from Bhandi that Rajyashri had been let off from confinement, that she had taken refuge in the jungles of the Vindhya and that in spite of efforts made, her whereabouts were not still ascertained. In the impetuosity of his affection for Rajyashri, Harsha bade his army halt on the banks of the Ganges and with a select retinue started off himself in search of his sister. He came by chance to the hermitage of one Divakarmitra, a Buddhist recluse, who turned out to be a close friend of his brother-in-law, Grahavarma. From one of his disciples he heard that a lady in affliction was going to burn herself on a pyre just in the neighbourhood and with this man's aid Harsha reached in time to save the queen of Kanauj, who, unable to bear her calamities, was going thus to put an end to her life. But the calamities of both the brother and the sister were now at an end, and they joyfully went to take leave of Divakarmitra. Rajyashri was so impressed with the sanctity and quiet of the Ashrama of the Buddhist hermit, her husband's friend, that she implored her brother to permit her to turn a Buddhist nun. But Harsha and Divakarmitra both dissuaded her, Harsha prophetically saying that he and she would both together take the holy order when their life's business was done. Harsha then returned with his sister Rajyashri to his camp on the bank of the Ganges.

Here ends the romantic, but not unauthentic story of Harsha and Rajyashri given in the *Harsha-Charita* of Bana, who to the great regret of the historian and the general reader, unaccountably leaves off the story in the middle. But it is of great help to us in understanding the account recorded by Hiuen Tsang. Hiuen Tsang's account has been to my mind misunderstood. It plainly seems that that account relates to what happened subsequently at Kanauj and does not relate to what had already happened at Thaneser. Harsha probably was the sole remnant in the family of the kings of Thaneser, and his brother Rajya, young as he was, had left no issue. Rajya was probably not even married.¹ Harsha, therefore, became king of Thaneser at once and without any doubt. The doubts entertained by Harsha as to whether he should be king or not as related by Hiuen Tsang must be referred to his doubts as to whether he should be king of Kanauj. The whole story becomes intelligible, if we connect these doubts with the kingdom of Kanauj. When Harsha and Rajyashri reached Kanauj, there must have been some anxious deliberation there as to the disposal of that kingdom. From the *Harsha-Charita* Grahavarma appears to have been the eldest son of his father Avantivarma². Should Rajyashri be set aside and consigned to obscurity and some younger heir of

¹ See H. C., p. 253. कलत्र रक्षत्विति श्रीस्ते निक्षिपेऽ धिवसति ।

See H. C., p. 200 अवन्तिवर्मण सूनुरमजो महवर्मा.

Avantivarma be raised to the throne? Harsha who had just brought the afflicted Rajyashri back from a pyre and a hermitage was unwilling to do so. He was also unwilling to seize the kingdom for himself. Grahavarma was a Buddhist and presumably Rajyashri also. Harsha, too, owing to his great and sudden afflictions in early age had Buddhistic inclinations though he was a declared devotee of Shiva.¹ It was thus naturally and perhaps astutely decided, that the difficulty should be solved by a reference to the Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara whose temple was outside the city of Kanauj, and the Bodhisatva solved the difficulty in a congenial manner. Rajyashri, it was ordained, should rule and Harsha should be her lieutenant. He should not ascend the throne nor take the title of the king of Kanauj but should style himself only Rajaputra Siladitya. According to the Chinese work, Fang Chih, Harsha henceforward "administered the kingdom in conjunction with his widowed sister" (page 338, V. Smith's E. History, 3rd edition). To my mind this explanation of the apparent hesitation of Harsha is simple and plain and it also explains why after Harsha's death there was anarchy and disorder again in the kingdom of Kanauj as will be related hereafter. At this stage it is difficult to understand how historians came to confound Thanester and Kanauj² and how it is for a moment entertained that the nobles of Thanester hesitated to offer their allegiance to Harsha. The nobles of Thanester, as related by Bana, had at once acclaimed him king of Thanester and it was only at Kanauj where he arrived in his conquering expedition with his widowed beloved sister Rajyashri that doubts arose with regard to the succession to the throne of that kingdom—doubts which were finally removed as aforesaid. Harsha very naturally hereafter gave up residence at Thanester and made Kanauj his capital which he ruled in conjunction with his sister. Between the two the fondest attachment subsisted throughout their reign. Their Buddhistic tendencies united

¹ The Banskhara inscription of the 9th year of his reign declares Harsha to be Parama Mahevara still. Bana also relates that when Harsha started on his Dvija from Thanester, he first worshipped the god Mahevara, see विरचय्य परम भक्त्या भगवतो नीललोहितस्यार्चाम् ॥ H. C., page 271.

² Probably the Records mixed up the two kingdoms and hence the misunderstanding. The words in the Records are "The statesmen of KANAUJ, on the advice of their leading man Ram invited Harbhavardhana, the younger brother of the murdered king, to become their sovereign. He seemed unwilling and made excuses. He then determined to take the advice of Avalokitesvara," &c. I think Bana's account and this must be put together and Harsha's unwillingness to take up the kingdom of Kanauj should be explained as above. It is also probable that Mr Vincent Smith's unwillingness to accept Kanauj as the capital of the Maukharis Grahavarma has increased the difficulty. But the fact that the Maukharis ruled at Kanauj cannot, as shown in a note, be denied. The Imperial Gazetteer, too, under Kanauj unreservedly accepts the theory that the Maukharis ruled at Kanauj before Harsha.

them in religious sentiment also and it appears that during their long reign nothing happened to mar their amicable relations.

NOTES.

1.—THE MAUKHARIS OF KANAUJ.

Corpus Inscriptionum, Vol. III, Aśirgad Seal, No. 47 (page 219), gives us a seal inscription of Śarvavarmā and this contains, to my view, the genealogy of the kings of Kanauj. Unfortunately in these records the recorders never trouble themselves to mention the kingdom where a particular king ruled. Perhaps they omit the name of the kingdom because they think it so well known, but this omission causes us at this distance of time a great deal of doubt and difficulty. It is from the Harsha-Charita that we know that the Maukharis ruled in Kanauj; for Grahavarmā came from there and was killed there and Rajyashri was also imprisoned there. Well, this seal gives the following genealogy:—1. Maharaja Harivarma; 2. Maharaja Adityavarmā; 3. Maharaja Īśvaravarma, born of Harsha Gupta; 4. *Maharajadhiraja* Īśnavarmā, born of Upagupta; 5. *Parama Mahēvara Maharajadhiraja* Śarvavarma Maukhari. This line of the seal may be continued by the help of the Apsad inscription of the Guptas (p. 203, Corp. Ins., Vol. III); 6. Susthitavarmā, and by the aid of the Deo Barnak inscription (p. 217 ditto); 7. Avantivarma. This Deo Barnak inscription is of one Jivita Gupta and mentions the confirmation of the grant of the village of Varunika (now Deo Barnak), a village about 25 miles south-west of Arrah, the chief town of the Shahabad district of Bengal, to a sun-worshipper, first made by Bālāditya and subsequently confirmed by Śaravarmā and again by Avantivarmā, both styled Paramēśvara. These two are evidently the kings of the Maukhari line of Kanauj. We may by the help of these inscriptions, give the Maukhari line of kings with the Gupta line as follows:—

The Maukharis.	The Guptas.
1. Harivarmā.	1. Krishna Gupta.
2. Adityavarmā, married Harsha Gupta.	2. Harsha Gupta.
3. Īśvaravarmā, married Upagupta.	3. Jivita Gupta.
4. Īśnavarmā.	4. Kumara Gupta, fought with Īśnavarmā.
5. Śarvavarmā Maukhari.	5. Damodara Gupta, killed in fight with Maukhari.
6. Susthitavarmā.	6. Mahasena Gupta, fought with Susthita.
7. Avanivarmā.	
8. Grahavarmā.	7. Madhava Gupta.

Three generations of the Guptas Kumara, Damodara and Mahasena are explicitly said in the Apsad inscription to have fought with three generations of the Maukharis, Ísanā, Śarva and Susthita: the first two names of which we find in the Ashirgad seal inscription of Śarva also. Adityavarma is said, in the seal, to have married Harsha Gupta and she appears to have been a sister of the contemporaneous Harsha Gupta. Mahasena Gupta must be taken to have lived long or Susthita to have a short reign, hence his generation covers two of the Varmas which is not improbable, Grahavarma and Madhava Gupta, son of Mahasena being contemporaneous with and almost of the same age as Harsha.

It is possible to deduce a few salient facts of the history of this line of Maukhari kings from these three records, namely the Apsad inscription, the Ashirgad seal and the Deo Barnak inscription (Corp. Ins., Vol. III, Nos. 42, 47 and 46). In the first place this line of kings became powerful in the days of Ísanavarma who for the first time is called Maharajadhiraja, the three before him being called Maharajas only in the Ashirgad seal. The seal assigns the title Maukhari for the first time to his son Śarvavarma.* In the Apsad inscription also while his father Ísanavarma is mentioned by name, his son is called by the simple name of Maukhari. Thus Śarvavarma appears to have been a greater king than his father and he and probably his father also fought with the Huns. His dominions or rather overlordship extended south upto Ashirgad where his seal is discovered and also east as far as Bengal where as stated in the Deo Barnak inscription he confers a grant given by Baladitya of Magadha to a sun-temple which indicates that the dominion of Baladitya's successors had been substituted by that of Śarvavarma of Kanauj. The same grant is confirmed by the grandson of Śarvavarma named Avantivarma, the father of Grahavarma, brother-in-law of Harsha.

We have now to consider the inscriptions of the Maukhari king, named Anantavarma given in Corp. Ins., Vol. III. In these the pedigree given extends only over three names and these are Yajnavarma, Śardulavarma and Anantavarma. These seem to be a branch of the same family, for they call themselves Maukharis. But they are distinct from the Kanauj family and are of much less importance. For the greatest of the three Śardula is no more than a Mahasamanta (see Corp. Ins., Vol. III, No. 48: श्री शार्दूल इति प्रतिष्ठित यशः सामन्तचूडामणिः) while Śarvavarmā and Ísanavarma are styled in the seal Maharajadhiraja (see No. 47 *ibid*). These Maukharis appear to be a later branch established in the

* This title may be explained by supposing that the Maukharis of Kanauj were the leading Kshatriyas of Northern India; see H. C., p. 300. सत्सव्यन्येषु वरगुणेषु अभिजन्तमेवाभिरुच्यन्ते श्रीमन्तः । शरीरधराणां च भूमन्मूर्ध्नि स्थितो सकलभुवननमस्कृतो मौखरो वंशः ॥

Gaya district, where their inscriptions have been found and probably belong to a date later than that of Harsha.

2.—DEVAGUPTA OF MALAVA.

We have next to determine who Deva Gupta or rather the Malava king was who attacked Grahavarmā of Kanauj and who was killed in the battle with Rājya. The difficulties in this connection are numerous and troublesome. In the first place Bāna in the Harsha Charita distinctly says that it was a king of Malava who attacked Kanauj : देवो महवर्मा दुरात्मना मालवराजेन जीवलोके त्याजितः (H. C., p. 251); also कालायसनगडनिश्चल-कृतचरणयुगल सकलमालवराजलोकम् (H. C., p. 303). Clearly therefore a king of Malava attacked Grahavarma, and Bhandi showed Harsha the *people* of that Mālava king enchained (the king himself being probably killed) after his defeat by Rājya. Now in the Madhubana inscription of Harsha, Rājya is said to have punished kings like Deva Gupta. Rājya in his short life fought only two battles, one with the Huns and the other with the Mālava king who had murdered Grahavarma. Putting the two together the name of this Mālava King, therefore, was clearly Deva Gupta. Now in the Aphsad inscription above mentioned, we have the names of members of a Gupta family who were the hereditary enemies of the Varmas of Kanauj and it contains also the name of Madhava, the companion of Harsha. This family may, therefore, be taken to be the family of the Guptas of Malava though in this inscription the country of the Guptas is not mentioned, nor unfortunately the name of Deva Gupta. And we may accept the ingenious guess made by Dr. Hoernle (R. A. S. 1904) that Deva Gupta was Madhava's brother, with some changes to be noted further on.

The fact is there is no other explanation possible. The Harsha-Charita plainly states that the two princes, Kumara and Madhava, both called Guptas who were given by Prabhakaravardhana to his sons, Rājya and Harsha, to be their companions were मालवराजपुत्रौ or sons of the king of Malava. This Madhava Gupta who was the companion of Harsha is very probably the Madhava Gupta of the Aphsad inscription for he is expressly described there to be desirous of the company* of Harsha. (श्रीहर्षदेवनिजसंगमवाक्याच्च.). Moreover from the description of Madhava as a tall imposing fair young man, given by Bana in the Harsha-Charita in detail differing from that of Kumara one is inclined to infer that Bana had in his mind the fact that this Madhava subsequently became a well-known king. But a difficulty presents itself here, namely, how could the king of Malava attack Grahavarma, while the king's own brothers were the

* If we take this, to mean "fight" with Harsha, he is still Harsha's contemporary.

attendants of Rajya and Harsha, the brothers-in-law of Grahavarma? The guess of Dr. Hoernle seems to be acceptable that they were on inimical terms and it may be supplemented by the suggestion that Kumara and Madhava were not merely the younger brothers of Deva Gupta, but were his half-brothers or sons by another wife of Mahasena Gupta. There is always ill-feeling even in ordinary families between half-brothers, and in royal families in India such brothers are usually at deadly enmity. By this suggestion is also removed the difficulty of explaining why the sons of a king were given as companions of the sons of another king. Kumara and Madhava had no right to the throne being younger sons and their presence in Malava was not very palatable to the eldest son and heir-apparent Deva Gupta who was most likely an impetuous man. In fine the story of the Malavaraja in connection with Harsha may be told thus. A Gupta family starting from Krishna Gupta reigned at Ujjain or some other place in Malava and were the hereditary enemies of the Maukharis of Kanauj. They were connected by marriage with the Vardhan family of Thanesar, Prabhakaravardhana's mother Mahasena Gupta (mentioned in the Sonpat seal of Harsha) being a sister of Mahasena Gupta of Malwa. The last had a long reign and had an eldest son Deva Gupta by one wife and two younger sons Kumara and Madhava by another wife. These he sent to his sister's son Prabhakara to seek their fortune. Mahasena Gupta died a little before Prabhakara and Deva Gupta became king of Malwa. When Prabhakara died suddenly and Rajya and Harsha and Grahavarma were left young and inexperienced, Deva Gupta, as usual, with his family suddenly attacked Grahavarma and killed him. Rajya with Bhandi and Kumara, half-brother of Deva Gupta, attacked Deva Gupta and defeated him and seized all his treasure and put his men and family in chains for his dastardly treatment of Rajyashri. Rajya and Kumara both being subsequently killed treacherously by Sasanka, Harsha became King of Thanesar and came and took from Bhandi the charge of the booty and prisoners and the army of elephants of the Malava king. It seems probable that for the great crime of Deva Gupta the kingdom of Malava was seized by Harsha for a time at least and not given to Madhava to whom it properly belonged. It appears so clear from the Harsha-Charita where Bana says अशालोच्य तत्सर्वमवनिपतिः स्वीकर्तुं यथाधिकारमादिदेशाध्यक्षान् which means that the booty including the throne or सिंहासन was taken possession of by Harsha and handed over to his officers and not to Madhava. Madhava must have been retained by Harsha as his companion during all the time he conquered Northern India and founded his empire. Subsequently as Emperor Harsha must have put Madhava in possession of some eastern kingdom on the bank of the

Ganges for the Aphas inscription of Adityasena and other inscriptions seem to indicate that Adityasena's country lay in Bengal. Since this family in Bengal had nothing to do with Deva Gupta, his name does not appear in the genealogy of Adityasena. For, as Madhava did not succeed to Deva Gupta, his half-brother, at all, Deva Gupta's name has properly been omitted. In the kingdom of Ujjain when Hiuen Tsang visited it there was a Brahmin king ruling. This Brahmin king may either have seated himself on the vacant throne, being tolerated by Harsha or he may even have been appointed by Harsha the Emperor as Matrigupta was appointed to Kashmir by Yasodharma Vikramaditya of the Mandore inscription. Thus the difficulty created by the mention of a Brahmin king in Ujjain by Hiuen Tsang is also removed and reconciled with the story of the Harsha-Charita. Or we may take Deva Gupta's capital to be some other town like Vidisa which is also a portion of Malwa. Both Bana and Hiuen Tsang are contemporary and reliable narrators and their statements can only be reconciled in this way.

The line of Malava kings so to say became extinct with Deva Gupta, and the line of the Guptas of Magadha, as the Cor. Ins., Vol. III styles it, continued in the person of Madhava. We may give the two lines as follows from the Aphas and other inscriptions given in this volume and even assign some dates with corroboration, as one inscription contains a date 66, presumably of the Harsha Era. We give the Thanesar and Kanauj lines also for comparison.

Thanesar. (Sonpat seal No. 52)	Malwa. (Aphas inscription and Deo Barnak inscription)	Kanauj. (Aphas inscription and Asirgad seal)
	1 Krishna Gupta	
	2 Harsha Gupta	
	3 Jivita Gupta fights with	1 Isvaravarma
1 Rajyavardhana	4 Kumara Gupta	2 Isanavarma
2 Adityavardhana	5 Danodara Gupta	3 Sarvavarma
3 m Mahasena Gupta	6 Mahasena Gupta	4 Susthitavarma
3 Prabhakaravardhana		5 Avantivarma
		6 Grahavarma killed 606 A.D.
Rajyavardhana killed 606 A.D.	Deva Gupta killed 606 A. D. (Malava kingdom line closed)	
Harshavardhana King 606 A.D.	Madhava Gupta of Magadha ↓ Adityasena A. D. 672	
	Deva Gupta	
	Vishnu Gupta	
	Jivita Gupta	

Corpus Ins., Vol. III, plate No. 42, mentions the erection of an image at Nālandā in the reign of Adityasena in the year 66 (of Harsha Era presumably) i.e., 672 A.D., which is not inconsistent with the story we have sketched above. Madhava may either be supposed to have come to power and established himself in Maghada after Harsha's death or during his lifetime as stated before.

The theory of Dr. Hoernle about Deva Gupta is objected to by Pandurang Shastri Parakhi in his Marathi Life of Harsha. He thinks that Mahasena Gupta could not have been the sister of Mahasena Gupta as in that case the sons of the latter Kumara and Madhava became the brothers of Prabhakaravardhana being his maternal uncle's sons and therefore uncles of Rajya and Harsha who could not therefore have bowed to them when introduced, as stated by Bana. But this is not correct. Although seniors, even a king's sons, when they come in a subordinate position, have to bow to the master king. The master king and his sons are above all relations in point of etiquette. I have seen even a grand-father bow to his daughter's son, the latter being the king. Secondly, Parakhi does not believe that Deva Gupta was Mahasena Gupta's son, but there can be no other person (if we bear in mind the Madhuban inscription of Harsha), intended by Bana when he says that it was a Malava Raja who attacked Grahavarma. Thirdly, Mr. Vincent Smith also does not accept Dr. Hoernle's theory as a whole and especially that part of it which brings in Śiladitya of Malwa mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. This last portion of Dr. Hoernle's theory, no doubt, has to be abandoned as I shall show later on. In fact, Śiladitya cannot come in to attack Grahavarma, for his Malwa would be different from the Malwa of Deva Gupta. Bana must be taken to use the word Malava in one sense only though the Malava of Hiuen Tsang and the Malava of Bana may be taken to be different. What I mean is this: Bana says that Kumara and Madhava were the sons of a Malava king (मालवराजपुत्रौ) and that Grahavarma was killed by मालवराज or king of Malava who was himself subsequently defeated by Rajya in battle. In these two statements of Bana Malava must mean the same kingdom and not different kingdoms as Dr. Hoernle takes by introducing Śiladitya along with Deva Gupta. Bana's statements clearly require that Kumara and Madhava were brothers of Deva Gupta or that they belonged to the same kingdom, which may be taken to be Ujjain or some other town in eastern Malwa. Thus, we have to give up that part of Dr. Hoernle's theory which brings in Śiladitya. We have also to give up the further portion of his theory which makes Yūsmati (Queen of Prabhakaravardhana), a sister of

Śilāditya and daughter of Yaśodharma. In the first place we find names of a sister and brother have some portion in common but not of a father and daughter. And, secondly and more particularly when Yaśomati's brother is described by Bana as bringing Bhandi to Prabhakara he simply says यशोमत्या भ्राता. Had he been a king and a king of so great a fame at Śilāditya, Bana the contemporary of Harsha would certainly have mentioned the name of the king or at least affixed some epithet indicating his high position. It appears from this plain reference that Yaśomati was not the daughter of a great king but some Samanta king and hence her brother is mentioned without any distinction.* Moreover from Yaśomati's lamentation at the time of burning herself (in 606 A.D.) her father and mother appear to have been then still alive; see H. C., page 230. Under this view, therefore, Bhandi is not the son of a great king, but a mere Samanta and expects not to rise to a higher position than that of a Commander-in-Chief. And further we are not reduced to the necessity of believing that he fought against his own father Śilāditya and had the hardihood or inhumanity to present to Harsha the family and dependents enchained, and the treasures and even the throne of his own father without any feeling. I think this part of Dr. Hoernle's theory must also be abandoned for we avoid a great many difficulties by making Yaśomati not the sister of Śilāditya of Malava but of some Samanta ruler. His theory however that Deva Gupta was a brother of Kumara and Madhava seems to me to be acceptable and explains Bana's references properly as shown above.

3.—MR. VINCENT SMITH ON THE MAUKHARIS AND THE GUPTAS.

At page 312 (3rd edn.) of his early history of India Mr. Vincent Smith observes: "These 'later Guptas of Magadha,' as they are called by Archæologists shared the rule of that province with another dynasty of Rajas who had names ending in 'Varman' and belonged to a clan called Maukhari. The territorial division between the two dynasties cannot be defined precisely. Their relations with one another were sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, but the few details known are of little importance." Now it is clear from the above that Mr. V. Smith refers to the Maukharis and the Guptas discussed in the above two notes. It seems however clear to me that the Maukharis originally belonged to Kanauj. That their kingdom was Kanauj is

* Even if the epithet महाभूभक्तोत्पन्ना applied to यशोमती Bana (H. C., p. 176) be interpreted literally, this brother who brought Bhandi must be taken to be a younger brother not entitled to royal epithets. His plain mention requires this as also his bringing over his son to seek his fortune.

certain from the statements of Bāna. Grahavarma was attacked and killed there. His father was Avantivarma from Bāna's statement. This Avantivarma was a grandson of Sarvavarmā as seems very probable from the Deo Barnak inscription. The seal of Sarvavarmā found at Aśirgad gives the genealogy of this line of kings which has been given above. These Maukharis thus ruled at Kanauj and held extensive sway. The description of Bāna धरणाधराणां मृग्यन्मूर्ध्नि स्थितोपि सकलभुवननमस्कृतो मौखरो वंशः । as also तिमिरैस्तिरस्करो रवेः यो मौखराणां मालवैः परिभवः । (H. C. pp. 200 and 252) seems to indicate that the Maukharis of Kanauj were a powerful family ; and the seal found at Aśirgad and the inscriptions found at Jaunpur and Deo Barnak show that they held sway over a large extent of territory southwards upto the Vindhya, northwards upto Jaunpur, and eastwards upto the Brahmaputra. In fact I would give the political history of India in the latter half of the sixth century as follows.—When the Gupta line came to an end in 538 A. D. with Kumāra Gupta II (V. Smith, page 132 of 3rd edition), many of their provinces came under the sway of the Maukharis of Kanauj. With the overthrow of the Huns by a confederacy led by Yaśodharma and Baladitya several new kingdoms came into importance in different parts of the Gupta empire and among them the Vardhanas of Thanesar and the Maukharis of Kanauj who had also their share of the fights with the Huns were the two prominent. The latter extended their sway north, south and east and for a time the eastern provinces were under their direct sway. We can only thus explain the confirmation of the grant at Deo Barnak made originally by Baladitya, by Sarvavarmā and again by Avantivarmā. It was after Harsha's death that this sway of the Maukharis of Kanauj in Bengal was substituted by that of the later Guptas of Magadha as they are called by Archaeologists. This part of my theory about the Maukharis seems to me to be well founded and strong. As to my surmise that the later Gupta line originally came from Malwa, I cannot speak with the same certainty. If Madhava of the Apsad inscription is a brother of Devagupta then he came undoubtedly from Malwa. But if not we may treat his line as ruling from before in some portion of Magadha. All the same Devagupta who killed Grahavarma and who was killed by Rajya certainly belongs to Malwa. We may well imagine that a Gupta line set itself up in Malwa after the disruption of the Gupta empire and had always fought with the Maukharis of Kanauj for supremacy. Devagupta may also be, with fitness, assigned to the line of Gupta princess of whom Bhavagupta of 580 A. D. was one. Madhava and Kumara the companions of Harsha and Rajya must in that case be taken to belong to this line of Malwa kings, that is the Madhava of

Harsha-Charita must be taken to be different from the Madhava of the Aphasad inscription. These Guptas of the Aphasad inscription even if assigned to Magadha may also have had fights with the Maukharis of Kanauj who were as we have said above the overlords of the eastern portion of the Gupta empire.

We must lastly take into consideration the facts noted in the account given by Mr. Burn of "some coins of the Maukharis" in J. R. A. S. 1906 at page 843 referred to by Mr. V. A. Smith in a foot-note here. These coins were found in a village named Bhitaura in the Zilla of Fyzabad in Oudh. They are coins of Isanavarma Sarvavarmā and Avantivarmā and of Harsha, Pratapaśilā and Śiladitya as deciphered from the legends. They also contain dates which with dates on coins previously found are for Isanavarmā 54, 55 for Sarva 58 (formerly found) 234, 23 (now found) and 57 which may be read as 67 and 71 (formerly found) and 250 (now found) for Avantivarma. On the coins of Harsha, Pratapaśilā and Śiladitya the figures in the opinion of Mr. Burn "stand for regnal years." The three digit figures on the Varmā coins now found are clearly Gupta years. The previous figures are not well explained and Mr. Burn seeks to explain them by a reference to a supposed era started by Brahmagupta in 499 A. D. when exactly 3,600 years had expired from the beginning of the Kali age. Whatever that era may be, the dates extending over three digits, now found are clearly Gupta era figures and in the opinion of Mr. Burn this use of the Gupta era may indicate a temporary subjection to, or alliance with the Guptas. But it seems to me that no such inference is necessary. Indeed independent kings use the era of an empire which has just passed away, simply because the people are accustomed to use that era. The Valabhis used the Gupta era not because they were subject to the Guptas, but because they established their kingdom in a part of the country whence the Gupta empire had just passed away and where the people were accustomed to use the Gupta era. As they were not powerful enough to found an era of their own, they used the Gupta era in use among the people. We may cite an instance quite near our own times. The Marathas used the Fasli era and even the Fasli and Mahomedan months, though they were independent and even after the Mogul power at Delhi was reduced to a phantom, because the people were accustomed to that era and those months. Even the British used that era for some time. These remarks apply also to the form of the coins. A succeeding rule generally copies the form, the weight and even the legends or appearance of the coins of a preceding rule because the people are accustomed to the sight of such coins. The rupee of the British is formed after the fashion of the Mogul coin rather than of their

own coins in Britain. I offer these remarks, of course, with diffidence but I may contend that the use of the Gupta era does not necessarily indicate subjection to the Guptas. In fact, in the time of the Maukharis, the Gupta empire and rule had passed away. To my mind, these coins support the theory already propounded, namely, that the Maukharis succeeded to the rule of the Guptas in the Gangetic provinces. The finding of the coins in the Fyzabad District, like the Jaunpur inscription of Ísanavarmā shows the extent of their sway. The genealogy disclosed in the seal of Śarvavarmā found at Aśirgadh is also well supported by the coins, and Ísanavarmā, Śarvavarmā and Avantivarmā seem to be the three powerful kings of this family. And the dates of the coins now found are not inconsistent with my theory, as the coin of Avantivarmā can well make him a contemporary of Prabhakaravardhana of Thanésar, and his son Grahavarmā a son-in-law of the latter. For if we take 250, certainly a Gupta era figure, we have $250 + 319 = 569$ for Avantivarmā. Supposing it to be a date of Avantivarmā's rule, we have Grahavarmā seated on the throne of Kanauj in 606 A.D., ~~234~~, about 37½ years after this, which is not at all improbable. 234 G. E. for Śarvavarmā again means $234 + 319 = 553$ A.D., a date consistent with the Várma family tree and also with the general history of India as sketched above. Whatever era the two figure dates may be in, I think considering the other dates, that these coins support practically the theory propounded here about the Varmas and there is nothing inconsistent with their having ruled in Kanauj, as Bāna makes them do.

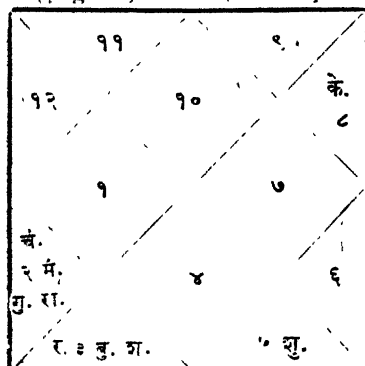
4.—THE DATE OF HARSHA'S BIRTH.

The date of the birth of Harsha can be definitely determined from data given by Bāna in his Harsha-Charita. Being given by a person, who was himself at the court of Harsha, these data may be looked upon as reliable. At page 183 H. C. we find ततश्च प्रप्ते ज्येष्ठामश्लीये मासि बहुलासु बहुलपक्ष-द्वादश्यां व्यतीति प्रदोषसमये समारुरुक्षति क्षपायौवने सहसैवान्तः पुरे समुद्रपादि कोलाहलः स्त्रीजनस्य. This shows that Harsha was born in the month of Jyestha, on the 12th of the dark fortnight, when the moon was in the Krittikas, and at the hour when night was entering on her youth (i.e., about 10 p.m.). Astronomical calculations made on the basis of these data, by my friend Professor Apte of the Victoria College, Lashkar, shew that the moon was at 10 p.m. in the Krittikas on the 12th of Jyestha Vadya Śaka 511 (589 A. D.) as also on the 12th of Jyestha Vadya Śaka 512 (590 A. D.). The latter year seems the more probable of the two, as in the former the Drādashī set in after sunrise. If we accept the latter year Harsha was 16 years complete in October 606 when he ascended the throne of Thanésar and from which date his era is believed to have commenced. The month Jyestha mentioned

by Bāna must here be taken to be an Amanta month, i.e., month ending with the new moon ; which seems somewhat strange as Bāna, coming from Northern India should have used the northern reckoning which has Purnimanta months or months ending with the full moon. But the Purnimanta month Jyeshtha Vadya would be Amanta Vaishakha Vadya 12, on which day neither in 589 nor in 590 A.D. as Professor Apte has found the moon was in the Krittikas. There is another point also rather suspicious as neither in 589 nor in 590 A.D. on Jyeshtha Vadya 12 were all the Grahas in their Uchha or Ascendant as Bāna says they were (See मान्धाता किलैबविधे व्यतीपातादि सर्वं दोषाभिपंग रहिते

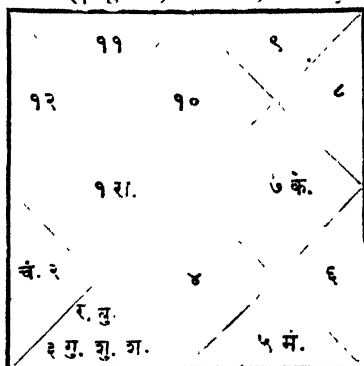
सर्वैपूव्वस्थानस्थितेष्वेव ग्रहेष्वीदृशलभ्ये भजे जन्म : page 184, H. C.). Perhaps this was the exaggeration of the court astrologer or else when Harsha was born his future greatness was not known and only when his subsequent greatness entitled him to a good horoscope was one manufactured for him by the court astrologer. The position of the planets as calculated for Jyeshtha Vadya 12, 589 and 590 A.D. give the following horoscopes for Harsha according to Professor Apte's calculations:—

Jyeshtha Vadya 12, 589 A.D.
(40 ghati) 10 P.M., Tuesday.



र.	२—२०—२४
च.	१—५—४९
म.	१—४—४१
बु.	२—१६—५३
शु.	१—२१—२७
शु.	४—०—४६
श.	२—१०—७
रा.	१—१२—४८
के.	९—२६—५७

Jyeshtha Vadya 12, 590 A.D.
(40 ghati) 10 P.M., Sunday.



२—१०—५६
१—१—५४
४—१८—३६
२—१३—६
२—१६—१५
२—१६—५४
२—१९—३७
०—२३—२९
९—१६—२०

Although from the above, Bana's testimony regarding the position of the planets is found to be unreliable, his date of birth cannot be so as Harsha's birthday celebrations must have taken place every year as emperor's birthdays usually are and there could have been no mistake about it.

To find the exact English date and for the purpose of corroboration I myself made calculations from Sewell and Dext's tables for the years A.D. 588, 589, 590 and 591. I also found that Vaishakha Vadya would not suit as Krittikas and Dvādashi do not fall together in any of these years but they come together on Jyeshtha Vadya in the years 589 and 590. Particularly in 590 A.D. there is Dvādashi from sunrise and the tithi lasts for 22 hours and more Krittikānakshatra beginning at about 4 hours after sunrise. This year therefore suits the requirements most correctly and the corresponding English date and day are Sunday, 4th June 590 A.D.

II.—HARSHA'S EMPIRE.

With the combined forces of Kanauj and Thaneser, it is not strange that Harsha succeeded in his announced resolve to subjugate Hindustan. The augury was already good. Kumararaja of Kāśmīra (Assam) who probably was an enemy of Sasanka sent a messenger to offer his friendship and to present him with a priceless white umbrella the sign of universal sovereignty according to Indian ideas. The king was gratified at this voluntary tribute and proffered friendship from Kumara and accepted them most heartily. He then moved with his army of elephants, cavalry and infantry east and west in a continuous march for conquest, which is said to have lasted for about six years and established his empire over the kings of Northern India. It may be pointed out here that the empire of Harsha was somewhat different from Moslem empires. The idea still remained fixed to the Indian mind that a Chakravarti need not dispossess the subjugated kings of their dominions. In this respect modern empires, at least in Hindustan, differ from its ancient and medieval empires. Then it was thought enough if the conquered king offered his submission, promised to pay a nominal yearly tribute and on occasions of ceremony attended upon the imperial sovereign. Indeed it was never thought allowable to dispossess the native kings of their particular kingdoms where they had long ruled and annex them to the empire. Harsha's empire, it must therefore be remembered, was different from the empire of Mahamad Taghlakh or of Aurangzeb or, for that matter, of the British which naturally resembles the Mahomedan empires immediately preceding it. In his *digvijaya* Harsha only exacted submission from the various kings of India

and allowed them to rule their own territories, annexation being resorted to only in exceptionable cases.

It is to be regretted that no details of this conquest or subjugation of Northern India are available. It is not even discoverable how Harsha punished Śaśanka of Karna Suvarna or Bengal called Gauda by Bana in his *Harsha-Charita* for treacherously murdering his brother Rajya. Probably he saved himself by another stroke of policy in much the same way as he had saved himself from Rajya. He was alive and ruling in 619 A.D. in which year a vassal king of his gave a village in gift to a Brahmin in Ganjam (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 144). This inscription plainly shows that he enjoyed the whole of his kingdom including those of his vassals intact. This was of course in consonance with the ideas of empire above described. Perhaps Harsha, in his Buddhistic tendencies, extended forgiveness to Śaśanka and did not exact from him the announced reparation for murder.

The extent of the empire of Harsha can with tolerable certainty be determined. It included probably the whole of Northern India exclusive of Sind, the Punjab and Kashmir, though even over these kingdoms also he established nominal suzerainty, for he appears to have humbled all these three and exacted tribute from them.

We shall notice the rulers of different kingdoms who were contemporaneous with Harsha in the next section in which we intend to detail the various kingdoms visited by the indefatigable Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. Here it will suffice to observe that Harsha subjugated almost the whole of Northern India and established a strong and well-ordered empire which lasted till his death. He founded as a memento of his being a Chakravarti, a special era of his own commencing from 606 A.D. in imitation of previous emperors who had founded the Vikrama, the Śaka and the Gupta eras. Indeed the founding of an era was now looked upon as an emblem of empire and Harsha in response to this tradition founded his own era in 612 A.D. after he had completed his *Digvijaya* dating from his accession in 606 A.D.

Harsha hereafter attempted to extend his empire to the south of the Nerbudda like Samudra Gupta who had led a conquering expedition through Southern India. But Southern India remained unconquered owing to the vigilance and valour of Harsha's great rival Chalukya Satyaśraya Pulakeśi II of Maharashtra. His capital appears from inscriptions to have been Vatapi or modern Badami but from Hiuen Tsang's description it may have been Nasik also. This king, namely, Pulakeśi II was very powerful and appears to have subjugated the whole

of Southern India. He came to the throne at about the same time as Harsha, i.e., about 608 A.D. and soon extended his sway down to the southern coast. The description which the famous Chinese traveller gives of him, his army and his people deserves to be quoted here in extenso. "The inhabitants (of Maharashtra) were proud, spirited and warlike; grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards supplicants in distress and sanguinary to death with those who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes went to the conflict intoxicated and their war elephants were also made drunk before engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt. The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Śīladitya (Harsha) was invading at this time east and west and the countries far and near were giving him allegiance but Maharashtra refused to become subject to him. (Records Vol. II, Watters, page 239.) The Life says, "The king always supports several thousand men of valour and several hundred savage elephants. These in a drunken condition rush against the enemy and without fail put the foe to flight. Śīladitya Raja in spite of his skill and the invariable success of his generals, marching himself at the head of his troops could not subjugate him." (Life of H. T., p. 147.) By a strange committance thus India was divided at this time into two empires ruled by two powerful kings who were a match to each other and who came to the throne at about the same time. The dividing line of these southern and northern empires was naturally the Nerbudda which divides India into two portions differing from each other in many characteristics both of country and people.

Except in a passage which we will notice in a note, it is unfortunate that we have not an account from Bana with regard to the actual establishment of Harsha's empire or its extent and we have to rely on the single* testimony of Hiuen Tsang. It is from him that we learn that Harsha conquered India during the course of six years "during which time neither the men nor the elephants were unharnessed," and that for 35 years more he ruled in peace and without any conflict. Of course the war with Pulakesi II which is placed by Mr. V. Smith about 620 A.D. and the war with Ganjam which was waged towards the end of his reign have to be excepted. This latter war was waged against the people of Ganjam or Kangode about 643 A.D. as has been

* We have however confirmatory epigraphic evidence that Harsha ruled over the whole of Northern India. See Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, VIII, p. 818, where Pulakeshi II is described as

समरसंसक्त सकुलोत्तरापथेश्वर श्रीहर्षवर्धनपराजयोपलब्ध परमेश्वरापर नामधेयः
सःयाश्रयः श्रीपृथ्वीवर्द्धभो महाराजाधिराजः

inferred from the Life of Hiuen Tsang, page 159, where it is mentioned that "Harsha was just then returning from the subjugation of Ganjam."

It would be interesting to quote Hiuen Tsang as to how Harsha maintained this vast empire. "Having extended his territory he increased his army, bringing the elephant corps up to 60,000 and cavalry to 1,00,000, and then reigned in peace for 30 (thirty) years. He was just in his administration and punctilious in the discharge of his duties. He forgot sleep and food in his devotion to good works. He prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties and caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the five Indies. He established travellers' rests throughout his dominions. The neighbouring princes and statesmen who were zealous in good works, he called "good friends." He would not converse with those who were of a different character. The King made visits of inspection throughout his dominion, not residing long at any place but having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn", but he did not go abroad through the three months of the rainy season. The King's day was divided into three periods, of which one was given up to affairs of Government, and two were devoted to religious works. He was indefatigable and the day was too short for him" (Records, Watters, Vol. I, p. 344). With such diligent habits of work and such conscientious efforts for the cultivation of high morals it is no wonder that Harsha's empire remained intact throughout his long reign and prospered to the utmost. He had his own agents or officers appointed in different regions to look to the maintenance of justice and his orders, autocratic as they were, were for the good of his subjects and were promptly obeyed by prince and peasant. Harsha's empire thus may well be classed, like the reign of Marcus Aurelius to whom he may fitly be likened,† among the most enlightened and happy empires, which have now and then though rarely enough, embellished the history of the world, and stands out in brilliant relief from the surrounding chequered back ground.

* This is corroborated by Bana also who describes the sojourn of Harsha at the first halting place from Thivou as follows नानिद्रेनगरादुपमरस्वनि निर्मिते महति कृणमथे मन्दिरे प्रस्थानमकरोत् ।

† See note following giving an extract from H. C. containing "अत्रलोकनाथेन दिशां मुखेषु परिकल्पिता लोकपालाः ।"

‡ Like Marcus Aurelius, Harsha appears to have been an emperor of the highest moral nature. From Harsha-Charita, pages 111-113, it appears that he had vowed Brahmacharya or constancy to his wedded queen, upheld truth and justice and forsworn wine and flesh. A patron of learned men he himself was a man of great learning and an author.

The death of Harsha is placed by historians in 647 A D on the evidence of reliable Chinese records (see V Smith's E H I, page 352, 3rd edition), Harsha having thus ruled for about 41 years. Most probably he left no issue. We have strangely enough no mention anywhere as to who his wife was and what children he had. He had a daughter no doubt and she was married to the king of Valabhi. Had he a son, there would assuredly have been no disturbance after his death, and his son would have left some record wherein as usual his mother's name would have been recited. We are therefore justified in surmising that he left no son. This fact indeed may have accentuated that intense religious consciousness which this unique emperor displayed of the emptiness of this world's riches and greatness, and under the influence of which he held those magnificent festivals of almsgiving every fifth year which have been described to us by Hsuen Tsang with such graphic detail, and in which as perhaps no emperor in the history of the world did Harsha gave away all his valuable treasures to Buddhist, Brahmin and Jain men of piety and learning, begging afterwards even his clothes from his sister Rajashri. Such was this great Emperor Harsha, at once munificent, philosophic and brave.

NOTE

Although Binurhasi has not described the *Digvijaya* of Harsha, there is a passage in the Harsha-Charita of great importance from which the above statements derive considerable support. Binurhasi's brothers in asking him to relate to them the life of Harsha extol the great exploits of the King in this manner:

“ अत्र बलजिता निश्चलीकृताश्चलन्त कृत्तपक्षा क्षितिभृता ।

अत्र प्रजापतिनाशेषभोगिमण्डलस्योपरि क्षमा कृता ।

अत्र पुरुषोत्तमेन सिधुराज प्रमथ्य लक्ष्मीरात्मीया कृता ।

अत्र बलिना मोचितभूभृद्वेष्टनो मुक्तो महानाग ।

अत्र देवेनाभिषिक्तः कुमार ।

अत्र परमेश्वरेण तुषारशैलमुवो दृगाया गृहीतः कर ।

अत्र लोकनाथेन दिशा मुखेषु परिकल्पिता लोकपाला ।” (H C p 139)

All these sentences are double meaning and poetical in a way which is only possible in Sanskrit but the sense as applicable to Harsha is very important in this inquiry and may be given as follows —“ He the conqueror, by force made the several kings, their allies or supporters being cut off, immovable (in their kingdoms). He the lord of

all peoples pardoned (and allowed to rule) all kings and chieftains. He the greatest of all men having conquered the king of Sind, made his wealth his own. He of great physical strength let off the great elephant after having released from its trunk the king (Kumara). He the great emperor anointed Kumara a king. He the supreme lord exacted tribute from the inaccessible land of the Himalaya Mountains. He the protector of all peoples appointed protectors and governors of peoples in the several directions." From this passage we glean not only the information that Harsha conquered all the kingdoms of Hindustan but that he allowed the conquered kings to rule them under his suzerainty. Some particular countries are also mentioned as humbled, namely, Sind and Kashmir or perhaps Nepal which must be the country in the inaccessible Himalayas which paid tribute to him. The king anointed by him must be the Kumararaja of Assam, whom, perhaps being his first ally and willing friend he raised to a higher dignity by crowning him himself, or gave him the kingdom of Śaśanka as mentioned further on. The letting off of the elephant is explained by the commentator by mentioning a legend that the Kumararaja was once seized by the riding elephant of Harsha with his trunk, and that Harsha who was a man of great personal prowess and courage rescued him by cutting off the elephant's trunk with his sword, the trunkless elephant being thereafter let off in the jungle. Lastly Harsha maintained his vast empire under his subjection and without disturbance not only by his constant movements to and fro with a strong army of elephant and horse but he had his own governors to collect tribute and to maintain law and order appointed in all directions much like the present political agents maintained by the British Government among Native States. This passage thus gives very important information and coming from an eye witness is of special value.

III. THE KINGS AND KINGDOMS OF INDIA IN THE TIME OF HARSHA

The detailed information given in the records of the indefatigable Chinese traveller Huen Tsang who came to India in the beginning of 631 A. D. and who left it about the end of 643 A. D. supplies us with a very full account of the state of this country during the latter half of the reign of Harsha; an account which is strongly corroborated by epigraphic and other evidence available. Huen Tsang often gives us the names of particular kings and also invariably the characteristics of the people touching their disposition, religion and history, information which is very useful to the student of early Indian history. The records and his life composed originally in Chinese have been translated by

European scholars and are available to us in an English garb. These accounts have also been subjected to scrutiny by noted researchers like Sir A. Cunningham who has succeeded in identifying most of the places and kingdoms mentioned by the Chinese traveller and subsequent scholars have added to the information thus noted by Sir A. Cunningham in his well-known book 'Ancient Geography of India.' All these scholars have thus laid students of Indian history under a deep debt of obligation which cannot but be acknowledged at this stage when we proceed to summarise this information in a table specially prepared for the perusal of the general reader. This table gives the name of each kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsang in order, the name of the king if any and in a third column such valuable information about the people and the country as is thought interesting and useful. This table will be sub-joined in an appendix. From this evidence and from the epigraphic evidence available we shall try in this chapter to describe the important kingdoms in India at this time, *i.e.*, in the days of the Emperor Harsha and the kings who ruled them.

To commence from the extreme north-west we have first to notice the country of Kapisa (Kabul) the king of which was a Kshatriya and a Buddhist. Who this king was we are unable to ascertain but he held under subjection the adjoining kingdoms of Lampak, Nagara and Gandhara, all beyond the Indus. The ruling family in Gandhara is said by Hiuen Tsang to have been destroyed and the country and the capital were in ruins. Probably the Huns who ruled in this country in the days of Harsha's father were after their defeat by him conquered by Kapisa. The next important kingdom mentioned beyond the Indus and along the Suvasṭu (Swat) was Udyana or modern Swat, a stronghold of Buddhism even in the days of Hiuen Tsang. Crossing the Indus the third important kingdom then was that of Kashmir which held under its sway the three minor kingdoms of Taxila, Sinhapura and Uraśa. The king of Kashmir, at this time was Durlabhavaradhana who according to the *Rajatarangini* inaugurated the Karkota dynasty in Kashmir. Hiuen Tsang also notices that the kings of Kashmir were protected by a dragon. According to Kalhana this king was a son-in-law of the last king of the Gonardiya dynasty, named Baladitya. He is said by Kalhana to have come to the throne in 3677 of the Laukika era or 601 A. D. and to have ruled for 36 years which makes him a contemporary of Harsha almost from beginning to end. The dynasty founded by him was called the Karkota dynasty, Karkota being the name of a dragon by whose favour he was supposed to have risen to importance. He established his sway over the northern portion of the Punjab as well as

certain hill states adjoining Kashmir and was thus a powerful king. Probably it was he, who in the difficult Himalayas was made to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of Harsha and compelled to pay tribute as mentioned by Bana. The people of Kashmir as described by Hiuen Tsang were then exactly what they are at present, handsome and fond of learning, but strangely enough Hiuen Tsang describes them as deceitful.

The next country of importance is the one which Hiuen Tsang calls Tekka, the former capital of which was Sākala and a former noted king of which was Mihirakula. Both Sākala and Mihirakula are names of note in the ancient history of India but this capital Sākala was now in ruins. The new capital and the name of Tekka have not been identified. It is possible to identify Tekka however with the Tāk of the Chachnama and the Tāk or Takshaka royal family enumerated among the 36 royal families of India. The Tāk according to Todd has disappeared from Indian history owing to conversion to Mahomedanism in the 13th century A.D. The Tekka kingdom appears to have held extensive sway as Mulasthaapura (Multan) and Parvata are said by Hiuen Tsang to have been subject to Tekka in his days. All these countries were not pre-eminently Buddhist and it may be conjectured that they were the places where old Hindu worship then flourished. Mihirakula was a persecutor of Buddhists, and at Multan there was the famous temple of the Sun worshipped by devotees throughout India. Who the Tekka king was, it would be most interesting to discover. He was the most important king of the Punjab so to speak though as his country lay between Kashmir and Thaneser his subordination to Harsha may be inferred.

Giving up the order of Hiuen Tsang and going a little south-west we find that the next most important kingdom was Sind. The capital was beyond the Indus and it held under subjection two or three kingdoms to the west and south as far as the sea. In fine the kingdom was as extensive as the modern province of Sind. Its king though powerful had been defeated by both Prabhakara and Harsha. Who this king was is somewhat difficult to determine. He was a Śūdra by caste and a Buddhist according to Hiuen Tsang. According to the Chachnama—a history of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in the next or eighth century,—there ruled in Sind before Chacha, the Brahmin king, a race of kings whose ancestor was Dewaij and whose last king was Sahasi Rai. After Sahasi's death Chacha the Brahmin who was his chamberlain seized the throne and married his widow. When this usurpation took place we can ascertain from the Chachnama which states that in

the 11th year of the Hejira, *i.e.*, in 632 A. D. the first invasion of Sind by Mahomedans took place. "Chacha was then on the throne and 35 years of his reign had passed." The usurpation of Chacha from this statement falls in 597 A. D. He ruled forty years, *i.e.*, till 637 A. D. when his brother Chandra succeeded him and ruled for 7 years, *i.e.*, till 644 A. D. Thus in 641 A. D. when Hiuen Tsang visited the kingdom of Sind, Chandra must have been on the throne and he is said in the Chachanama to have been a Buddhist. But he was a Brahmin and hence Hiuen Tsang's description that he was a Śūdra does not apply. It is not possible to suppose that Hiuen Tsang made a mistake. It should rather be said that the Chachanama is mistaken, for much of it is fanciful and it is more a hearsay history for events before the conquest of Sind by the Arabs than the evidence of an eye-witness. Moreover if Chandra died in 644 A.D. his nephew Dahar must be taken to have come to throne in 644 A.D. He was the king when Sindh was conquered by Mahamud Kasim in 712 A.D., a date which is certain and reliable. Dahir therefore must thus have been on the throne for 68 years, a somewhat long period. What I surmise is that Sahasi was still on the throne of Sind when Hiuen Tsang visited the country in 641 A.D. He appears to have been of the Māurya dynasty as the Chachanama represents that the ruler of Chitor was his brother or distant relative. Chitor was not yet in the hands of the Sisodias but was ruled by a Maurya family of kings from whom as the traditions of the Sisodias declare the kingdom was seized by Bappa Rawal. The Mauryas were of course looked upon as Śūdras. It is not improbable that branches of the Māurya family sprung from Chandra Gupta and Aśoka still ruled in several places in India. We would therefore give greater weight to Hiuen Tsang's statement and hold that the king of Sindh at this time was Sahasi II and he may have been a Buddhist. It is also more consistent to suppose that it was Sahasi II who was defeated by Harsha and not Chacha who was a peculiarly fortunate king and who extended his sway north, west and south. Chacha is said to have conquered Multan and Parvata and made his boundary conterminous with that of Kashmir. As Hiuen Tsang states that Multan was subject to Tekka and not to Sind when he visited it in 641 we may take it as a further argument to hold that he visited Sind in the time of Sahasi II. Some place the usurpation of Chacha in 631 (see Sind Gazetteer and Gazetteer of Bahawalpur) on the authority of another Mahomedan historian, but I think we must place it sometime after Harsha's death, *i.e.*, about 648. Chacha ruled for 40 years or till 688 and his brother Chandra till 695 and his son Dahir must have been on the throne for about 17 years when he was conquered by Kasim in 712 A.D.

The divergence between the testimony of Hiuen Tsang and Chachanama with regard to the caste of the ruling king in Sind leaves us in a doubt as to whether Sahasi II was then ruling there or Chandra, brother of Chacha. But there is no doubt as to who was then ruling in Valabhi or Eastern Kathiawar the next most important kingdom in Northern India. Hiuen Tsang describes the ruler of this kingdom very vividly. "He was a Kshatriya by caste and a son-in-law of Harsha. His name was Dhruvabhata. He was hasty of temper and young but a devout Buddhist." He is subsequently described as often accompanying Harsha on his march and he was present at the great alms-giving assemblage held at Prayaga where Hiuen Tsang was the presiding priest in 643 A.D. Epigraphical evidence is amply corroborative in this connection. The ruling family of Valabhi was founded by Senapati Bhattarka, who came from Ayodhya, during the troubles of the Huns about the beginning of the sixth century (some place this in 485 A. D.). Their grants testify to their history and power and they were generally worshippers of Śiva though Dhruvabhata the son-in-law of Harsha was a Buddhist. It was undoubtedly a premier Kshatriya family for the premier Kshatriya family of later Indian history, namely, the Sisodigas of Udaipur derive their descent from this family of Valabhi. It is therefore not improbable that Harsha gave his daughter in marriage to this king because he was a Kshatriya King, as his father had given Rajyashri in marriage to Grahavarman, another well known Kshatriya king of his days. In fact, then as now, kings tried to give their daughters to kings of unquestioned Kshatriya lineage for as Bana says (H. C., p. 200) सत्स्वप्यन्येषु वरगुणेषु अभिजन मेवानुरुध्यन्ते धीमन्तः (Among other good qualities of a bridegroom wise men look to good lineage alone).

The next important kingdom was that of Gurjara in Rajputana. Its capital was Bhinmal. It was the principal country of the Gurjaras in those days, though now the country is not Gujarat but Rajputana. "The king was a Kshatriya by caste," according to Hiuen Tsang, and "a young man celebrated for his wisdom and courage and a firm believer in Buddhism." This king must have been a son of king Vyaghramukha in whose time the noted astronomer Brahmagupta in 628 A. D. composed his treatise on astronomy. As Hiuen Tsang visited the country about 641 A. D., Vyaghramukha's successor must have been a young man. Gurjara was defeated by Prabhakara, the father of Harsha as stated in the Harsha-Charita, p. 174 (गुर्जरप्रजागरः प्रतामशील इतिप्रथितापरनामा प्रभाकरवर्धनो नाम राजाधिराजः). Though its conquest by Harsha in his *Digvijaya* is not mentioned, it may be

easily presumed. But Hiuen Tsang's description of the king suggests that like Sind and Kashmir, Gurjara was nominally subject to the overlordship of Harsha.

There was a Gurjara kingdom to the south of Valabhi also. It was very probably founded by an offshoot from the Gurjara kingdom from the north. This was the first incursion of the Gurjaras into this part of the country which in later times has always borne their name. The kingdom is called Bharukaccha by Hiuen Tsang and its capital was Bharukaccha or modern Broach on the north bank of the Nerbudda at the head of the estuary of that river. It derived its wealth from sea-borne trade. The king who ruled Bharukaccha at this time was Dadda II whose grants found disclose the genealogy of the family and mention it clearly as a Gurjara family*. These kings were worshippers of the Sun, a fact which also connects them with the original Gurjar kingdom of Bhimmal where there was a well-known temple of the Sun. The tree of the family is as follows :— (1) Dadda I who came into this part about 528 A.D. and founded the kingdom, (2) Jayabhata I, (3) Dadda II, contemporary of Harsha and Hiuen Tsang. He was practically an independent king though his titles are those of a Mahasamanta. For this king Dadda is said to have given refuge to a Valabhi king when he was attacked by Harsha. Perhaps it was Dhruvabhata himself who subsequently became the son-in-law of Harsha, but perhaps his father if this invasion happened during the early years of Harsha's reign.

We next go on to describe the kingdom of Molapo or Malwa as described by Hiuen Tsang. "Its capital" says he "was on the south-east side of the Mahi river. The people were intelligent, of a refined speech and of liberal education. Malwa in the south-west and Magadha in the north-east were the two countries where learning was prized. In this country virtue was esteemed and humanity respected." This flattering description applies to ancient Malwa as a whole, for Malwa throughout Sanskrit literature bears a high reputation for learning. But Molapo must be identified with Western Malwa (as at present constituted politically) as the capital is said to be on the Mahi river, which is even now a river of Western Malwa as well as Gujarat. It may perhaps have been Dhārānagari noted in the next few centuries as the seat of the Paramaras, the liberal patrons of learning and learned men. Dhara is mentioned in the Jaunpur inscription of Isvaravarma (Gupta Ins. Vol. III, plate No. 51, p. 230), and thus must have been in existence even at that time. Whatever the capital may have been this Malwa of Hiuen Tsang owing to the mention of the

*विपुल गुर्जर नृपान्वय प्रदीपतो, &c. (Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII, No. 63.)

Mahi is undoubtedly Western Malwa, Eastern Malwa, separated from it by the Chambal river, being mentioned by him as Ujjain of which we shall speak presently. Who the king of this Western Malwa was it does not clearly appear. Hiuen Tsang mentions that from the records of this kingdom, about sixty years before his arrival there ruled here a śiladitya who was famous for his rare kindness and compassion. He was a Buddhist and had a temple of Buddha built near his palace. "This fine work had been continued for successive generations without interruption." (See Records, Watters, Vol. II, p. 242.) The Life adds "He would not injure even a fly. He caused the water given to the horses and elephants to be strained, unless he should destroy the life of a water-insect. He impressed on the people of the country to avoid taking life. Thus for fifty years he continued on the throne," p. 148. If this king ruled Western Malwa for fifty years sixty years before Hiuen Tsang's visit in 640 A.D., he must be taken to have come to the throne in 530 A.D. or somewhere about it and died in 580. At this time, therefore, his grandson or perhaps great grandson must have been ruling in Western Malwa. Who this śiladitya was we shall discuss in a note appended to this chapter.

Next we come to the kingdom called Ujjain from its capital. This kingdom was pre-eminently Malwa and should have been so called. But Hiuen Tsang coming to Western Malwa first and finding it completely Buddhist, gave it the name of Malwa and gave to the next kingdom which was ruled by a Brahmin and which was not wholly Buddhist the name of Ujjain. Ujjain however was Malwa pre-eminently. It was the same Ujjain as is famous in the old Buddhist and Hindu literatures. There is no doubt about its identity for Hiuen Tsang reports that Aśoka in his youth had built outside the city a hell (jail) for the punishment of evil doers. The ruler of the country when Hiuen Tsang visited it was a Brahmin. He was perhaps appointed by Harsha or had seized the vacant kingdom and had been tolerated by him. Of the Gupta family which appears to have ruled here in the beginning of Harsha's reign we have already spoken in a note. It may be stated that the Gupta emperors of Pataliputra and Ayodhya conquered Malwa and Ujjain in 400 A.D., under Chandra Gupta II. His successors ruled in Malwa as well as Kathiawar and Gujarat as their coins testify. With Skanda Gupta the regular Gupta line ceased. It was overthrown as is well-known by the Huns. A Buddha Gupta however ruled between the Jumna and the Nerbudda about 480-500 A. D. (see Bombay Gazetteer History of Gujarat, p. 71) as appears from the Eran inscription and also from his coins. Other branches of the Guptas founded by Gupta chiefs must have established themselves in the several provinces of their empire

and we may take it that the family mentioned in the Apsad plate ruled in Malwa at Ujjain until Deva Gupta the contemporary of Rajya was killed in the battle with him and the kingdom was seized by Harsha in 606 A. D. After that date and between 640 A. D. a Brahmin king may have set himself up or been appointed in Malwa.

After the fall of the Gupta power and of Budha Gupta, who ruled between the Jumna and the Nerbudda, other kingdoms might have been formed in this part of the country besides Malwa or Ujjain and Hiuen Tsang mentions two, namely, Chichito or Zajoti in what is now Bundelkand the capital being probably at Eran and Mahesvarpura which has been identified by many with Gwalior (or perhaps Narwar). All these three kingdoms go by the name of their capitals and were ruled by Brahmin kings who may well be originally only Gupta governors subsequently assuming kingly status.*

We have thus far noticed the important kingdoms on the west of the empire of Harsha and mentioned the names and other particulars of the kings who ruled them. They were, to repeat, the kingdoms of Kabul, Kashmir, Tekka (Punjab), Sind, Valabhi, Gurjara, Broach, Malwa, Ujjain, Bundelkand and Gwalior. Durlabhavardhana ruled in Kashmir and Sahasi II in Sind. At Valabhi the premier Kshatriya king Dhruvabhata ruled and he was the son-in-law of Harsha. In Gurjara north or Rajputana and in Gurjara south or Broach ruled two Kshatriya kings, *vis.*, a son of Vyaghramukha and Dadda II, respectively. In what is Central India as constituted at present, three kingdoms, named Ujjain, Zajoti and Maheshwarpura besides Molapo or Western Malwa were ruled by three Brahmin kings. All these were probably actually included in Harsha's empire and Valabhi and Broach were practically so, while Gurjara, Sind, Kashmir and Tekka were nominally under Harsha's suzerainty. In Molapo, which was also practically under the rule of Harsha, a grandson of a Śīladitya ruled with certainty. Who this Śīladitya was it is yet doubtful but the probability is that he was the son of Yaśodharma Vikramaditya the vanquisher of the Hans.

Before going on to describe the kingdoms of Mid-India, we must notice a small kingdom not visited by Hiuen Tsang, the ruler of which in the beginning of the next or 8th century laid the foundation of the Mewad kingdom so noted in modern history for its great heroism and its constancy to Rajput traditions. This was the small

* The king in Chichito might have been a descendant of the Brahmin king Sankshobha of the Parivrajaka family whose inscription is given at No. 25 in the Corp. Ins., Vol. III, p. 115, or he may have been a descendant of Dhyanavishnu whose inscription has been found at Eran.

kingdom of Eder in the south-west of Mewad, founded by a son of Guhaditya of the Valabhi family of Kshatriyas, in the middle of the sixth century. The descendants of Guhaditya obtained the name of Gehlots, who subsequently took the name of Sesodias, the modern title of the Mewad Rajputs. At this time, *i.e.*, in the first half of the seventh century, the ruler in this family was named Nāgāditya Śilāditya who is mentioned in an inscription dated 646 A.D. (see *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Mewad Agency, Vol. II). In this family was born Bappa Rawal who in the beginning of the 8th century seized Chitod and inaugurated the Mewad family of Rajputs as we shall have to relate hereafter. The origin of the Mewad family thus traced to the Valabhi kings is doubted by many historians, but I do not see any reason why this tradition of the Mewad kings about their origin should be discredited. Ancient traditions may be accepted to be correct unless they are obviously absurd and as Bappa's date goes so far back as the 8th century, his ancestors may well have sprung from the Valabhi family in the latter half of the sixth century.

We now come to Mid-India or what is practically the present United Provinces. The valley of the Ganges and the Jumna has been the seat of Indo-Aryan civilization from ancient times. Indo-Aryan mental and physical power was developed here and from here the Aryans dominated so to speak Northern India or Hindustan as it is usually called. This part in ancient times was called the Madhya Deśa from which Śrī Krishna says in the Mahabharata (Sabha parva) "the Yadavas were so sorry to be ousted and whither they pined so vehemently to return." The same name continued down to the time of Hiuen Tsang who also calls it Mid-India and Varahamihira also makes this part the central division of India. The climate of this part of the country is or rather was remarkably dry and healthy in those days when it was not cut up by numerous canals taken out from the Jumna and the Ganges, which while they have added to the fertility of the land and insured it against famine, have created a malarial climate and detracted much from its healthiness. The country then was and still is very fertile and hence numerous peoples or kingdoms flourished in this very compact territory and rose to pre-eminence in ancient times. The principal kingdoms here at this time were Thanaser and Kanauj* both ruled by one and the same king Harsha. These two kingdoms were in fact the ancient Kuru and Panchala kingdoms united again as they once were under Janamejaya and the combination was naturally so powerful that Harsha like Janamejaya easily became the emperor of Hindustan. As

* Kanauj is now a mere Tahsil or Taluka town in the Farukhabad District, U. P., and nothing but debris remains to attest its former greatness.

Harsha usually lived at Kanauj that city now rose to the importance and assumed the status of the capital of India. This status it retained throughout the mediæval period of Indian history of which we are treating. It had already risen into some importance during the days of the Maukhari kings Ísana, Śarva and Avantivarma who ruled there during the latter half of the sixth century and who established overlordship over the eastern portion of the Gangetic valley, while the Vardhanas of Thanesar established overlordship over the western. The union of Thanesar and Kanauj at once raised Kanauj to the position of the capital of India now lost completely by Pataliputra. The latter city when Hiuen Tsang visited it was in ruins and almost deserted. It had finished its rôle. Chandragupta Maurya had raised it to the position of the capital of India and Aśoka had confirmed it. Subsequent dynasties of emperors down to the Guptas respected that position, but when the Guptas moved out of it for the first time to Ayodhya for a sort of change, its decline began, and when Harsha established the court of his empire at Kanauj, that position was finally lost by it after having thus retained it for about 800 years, *i.e.*, from 300 B. C. to 500 A. D. Kanauj remained the acknowledged capital of India during the rest of the period of the early history of India. Delhi was almost a village at this time. It had shone once only during the brief reign of the Pandavas in the beginning of Indian history and had then retired into shade. It came into view again in the 9th century A. D. with Anangapal who claimed to be a descendant of the Pandavas but it remained inferior to Kanauj till the 12th century when it threw Kanauj into shade with the victory of Prithviraja over Jayachand. The Mahomedans who finally conquered Prithviraja made Delhi the chief seat of their rule and Delhi has since remained the capital of the Indian empire down to this day.

This short account of the shifting of the centre of political gravity westward along the Gangetic valley from Pataliputra to Kanauj and from Kanauj to Delhi will be found interesting. In the interval between 600 and 1200 A. D., Kanauj was the accepted capital of India as Arab historians of this time also testify; for when they speak of the capital of Hind they always refer to Kanauj. The halo of the empire of Harsha hovered long over the city and induced each successive aspirant to Imperial power to establish his dynasty there during this period as had happened at Pataliputra during the centuries preceding and as happened at Delhi during the centuries following. The city of Kanauj consequently acquired grandeur and accumulated riches commensurate with its dignity. It was at the height of its splendour in the time of Mahomed of Gazni, who himself observed that it could justly boast to have no equal and that it was full of palaces and temples

built of marble. Even when Hiuen Tsang visited it, it was already a great city. It was, says he, five miles long and one mile broad, was very strongly defended and had lofty structures everywhere. "There were beautiful gardens and tanks of clear water and in it were collected varieties from strange lands." Kanauj was so grand and strong in the 8th century that the Chachnama uses (Trans. p. 52) "You want Kanauj" as a proverb meaning you want the impossible.

In this city reigned Harsha the patron of Bana and Hiuen Tsang. Thaneser or Shrikantha as the country is called by Bana, and Kanauj were kingdoms directly under Harsha. Hiuen Tsang mentions many kingdoms in the Gangetic valley besides these two and most of them also must have been directly under Harsha's rule. Pariyatra or modern Alwar was however under a king of the Vāṣṭhya caste as also Śrughna (about Hardwar) and Matipura where a Śūdra king ruled, and Brahmapura or modern Garhwal. But Ahicchatra and Pīṣāṇa, Sankāśya and Ayodhya, Allahabad and Kauśambi where no kings are mentioned by Hiuen Tsang were probably under the direct sway of Harsha. Along the foot of the Himalayas were small kingdoms like Śravastī and Kapilavastu, Ramagrama and Kuśinagara where petty chiefs ruled. These places were places of Buddhist worship and hence kept up some population; otherwise strangely enough the country was desolate. Many cultivable and fertile parts of India were indeed in ancient times under jungles which have been cleared only under the British rule. Civilization and prosperity followed in ancient days the course of the Ganges and the Jumna, and away from them were jungles infested by elephants. The incessant internecine fights between opposing kings prevented the growth of overflowing population and the means of communication being limited, the export of grain from India must then have been almost nil. Hence the need for extension of cultivation was not felt and it is no wonder that even the empire of Harsha was bordered, so to speak on both sides, by wide fringes of jungles along the Himalayas on the north and the Vindhya on the south. These jungles provided the immense number of elephants required for the armies of contending kings. Considering this state of the country, therefore, we need not be surprised that there were 60,000 elephants in the army of the emperor Harsha alone, while there must have been thousands more in those of other kings.

We will now proceed to describe the kingdoms to the east of Mid-India, or in what are now the provinces of Behar and Bengal. The first kingdom to notice was that of Magadha. Hiuen Tsang relates that before his time a king named Puranavarma who was

supposed to be a descendant of Aśoka ruled in Magadha where he had rebuilt the wall round the Bodhi tree which had been thrown down by Śaśanka king of Karnasuvarna. Magadha was the chief place of Buddhist worship. It contained the Bodhi tree and Buddha's footprint stone. Besides, the Nālandā monastery, the chief seat of Buddhist learning was in Magadha. Beyond Magadha were Hiranyapurvata or Monghyr and Champa or Bhagalpur, Kajugal or Rajmahal and Paundravardhana or Rangpur ruled by kings, of whom we have no information. Beyond was Kamarupa or Assam which was ruled at this time by Bhaskaravarma whose other name was Kumara. He was a friend and ally of Harsha from the first as we have already described. Strangely enough the accounts of this king given by Hiuen Tsang and Bana, two contemporary witnesses agree almost to the last detail. At page 186 of the Records, Vol. II, (Watters) we read, "The reigning king who was a Brahmin by caste and a descendant of Narayana Deva was named Bhaskaravarma, his other name was Kumara. The sovereignty had been transmitted in the family for 1,000 generations. His Majesty was a lover of learning. Men of ability came from afar to study here. The king though not a Buddhist respected accomplished Śramanas." Bana at page 294, H. C., says.—महाब्राह्मसंपर्कं संभृतगर्भाया भगवत्या भुवो नरको नाम सूनुः । तस्यान्वये भगदत्त पुष्पदत्त वज्रदत्त प्रभृतिषु व्यतीतेषु बहुषु महापात्रेषु प्रप्राप्तो भूतिवर्मणः पौत्रौ चद्रमुखवर्मणः पुत्रौ स्थितवर्मणः सुस्थितवर्मा नाम महाराजाधिराजो जज्ञे । तस्यच भास्करवर्मा नाम तनयः कुमारः समभवत् । Although the name Bhaskaravarma sounds as that of a Kshatriya his being a Brahmin as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang may be accepted to be correct. Brahmins who followed the Kshatriya profession often took a Kshatriya name and those who followed Vaiśya profession took a Vaiśya name. The fame of Assam for learning continued for some centuries more down to the days of Śaṅkara. The legendary origin of the family is, of course, unhistorical, but that it was a long continued family may be believed in, as Assam being out of the way, must have remained undisturbed by the ambitions of conquering heroes. We shall have to speak of this Kumara again as we have spoken of him many a time before.

We now come to the three kingdoms into which Bengal proper was then divided, namely, Karnasuvarna (Murshidabad), Samatata (Eastern Bengal) and Tamralipti (Midnapur). These were prosperous countries even in Hiuen Tsang's time. The king in Karnasuvarna before Hiuen Tsang visited it was Śaśanka or Narendragupta already mentioned as the man who treacherously murdered Rajyavardhana

and a persecutor of Buddhism. Probably he was pardoned by Harsha, as he is shown by a Ganjam inscription to be alive and reigning in 619 A. D. But after his death his kingdom seems to have been given to the Kumararaja of Assam. For an undated inscription of Bhaskaravarma, published in the *Dacca Review* (1913) (noted by V. Smith), was issued from Karnasuvarna. Hiuen Tsang does not mention the king ruling in Karnasuvarna when he visited it; but the above surmise is supportable also from the statement of Bāna, that Harsha anointed Kumararaja a king (अत्र देवेन अभिषिक्तः कुमारः H. C., p. 139). In Samatata or Eastern Bengal a Brahmin family ruled to which belonged a great Buddhist saint visited by Hiuen Tsang. No particulars of the king at Tamralipti are mentioned. All these kingdoms were, of course, subordinate to Harsha. It is to be noticed that Hiuen Tsang does not assign the name of Gauda to any of these kingdoms, though the king of Karnasuvarna Śaśanka is described by Bana as the king of Gauda. Gauda is a noted name in Sanskrit literature for the learned men of Gauda have always maintained a peculiar style and school of thought of their own. Probably the name Gauda applied to all these three kingdoms, as also the name Vanga which is still more ancient and which is not noted by Hiuen Tsang.

Lastly in Northern India and in subordination to Harsha we have to mention the kingdom of Odra or Orissa and the kingdom of Kongadu or Ganjam along the coast of the Bay of Bengal. These were Indo-Aryan kingdoms on the border of the Dravidian Kalinga kingdom to the south. With Kongadu Hiuen Tsang notices the change in language. (Curiously enough their written language was the same as that of India.) With Kalinga the change in the language was complete. "In talk and manners they differed from Mid-India" (Watters, Vol. II, p. 198). The kings in these two countries are not mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, nor can we find them out with certainty. According to the palm leaf chronicles of the temple of Jagannath in Cuttuck, Orissa was under the Kesari dynasty from the 7th to the 12th Century A.D., but it is probable that this dynasty established itself after the time of Harsha. (See Cuttuck Gazetteer.)

This completes the list of important kingdoms * in Northern India which constituted the empire of Harsha. As we have already remarked contemporaneous with this northern empire of Harsha, there was at this time the southern empire of Satyaśraya Pulakeśin II. of Mahārāṣṭra, which included all the kingdoms in the Deccan and South

* Nepal is omitted as at this time, it was subordinate to Tibet and it does not clearly appear that it was subordinate to Harsha

India. These kingdoms were, most of them, visited by Hiuen Tsang and have been described by him. They were Kalinga or Rajamahendri, Kosala or Raipur, Andhra or Warangal, Dhanakakata or Vengi, Chola or Nellore, Dravida or Kanchi, Malayakuta or Madura, Konkanapara or part of Mysore and northern western coast (the capital being probably Banavasi above the Ghats) and lastly Maharashtra with its capital at Badami, whose king Pulakeśin appears to have subdued all the other kingdoms noted above, (see Aihole and other inscriptions). The Pallavas ruled in Kanchi or Chola and Dravida, their king at this time being Narasinha Varma. In Malayakuta or Pandya country (Madura and Tinevely) ruled the line of kings, called the Pandyas who like the kings of Assam, ruled there from of old. In Vengi was Vishnu Vardhana, brother of Satyaśraya Pulakeśin. Who the king of Banavasi was we cannot discover. Probably a prince of the Kadamba family ruled there. These kingdoms of the south were all tributaries of and subordinate to the empire of Pulakeśin II who conquered them between about 610 and 620 A. D. By a strange coincidence this southern empire of Pulakeśin which came into being at about the same time as that of Harsha in the north, also came to an end like its northern rival about the middle of the 7th century, Narasinha Varma of Kanchi conquering and devastating Badami.

NOTE.

ŚILADITYA OF MALWA.

According to the description of this king given by Hiuen Tsang he began to rule in 530 A. D. and died in 580 A. D., and thus ruled about 60 years before his visit in 640 A. D. In the Rajataringini we have the mention of a Śiladitya of Malwa, son of Vikramaditya, who was driven out of his capital by his enemies but who was restored to his throne by Pravarasena II, of Kashmir. (Raj. Book III, 330.) Was he the same king as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang? It is conceded by Stein that while the history of Kashmir given by Kalhana is reliable from the Karkota dynasty onwards, previous to it the dates and history given by Kalhana are not so. This view is borne out also by the contemporary evidence of Hiuen Tsang. For when he was in Kashmir a Karkota King was evidently ruling there. The Records state: "Being protected by a dragon the kings crowed over their neighbours." From the date of Durlabha Vardhana given by Kalhana this king appears to be on the throne of Kashmir when Hiuen Tsang visited it. His date as given by Kalhana is 3677 of the Laukika era or 602 A. D. Now before this king, Kalhana

mentions five rulers upto Pravarasena II as follows proceeding backwards :—

Name.	Laukika Year.	Length of reign.
1. Baladitya	3641	36
2. Vikramaditya	3597	42
3. Ranaditya	3299	300
4. Lakhana	3288	13
5. Yudhisthira II	3246	39
6. Pravarasena II	3186	60

Thus Pravarasena II according to Kalhana came to the throne in 3186 L. E. or 111 A. D. He took the kingdom from Matrigupta who was sent to rule Kashmir during an interregnum by Vikramaditya of Malwa, on Vikrama's death. Kalhana takes this Vikrama to be the first Vikrama who founded the era of 57 B. C. This makes Vikrama die at least after $111 + 57 = 168$ years of rule which is an obvious absurdity. There is also the absurdity of Ranaditya ruling for 300 years in this dynasty of kings. All this hopeless confusion has been caused by Kalhana's mistake in giving up the original tradition fortunately preserved by Kalhana himself that Vikramaditya Sakari or the first Vikrama was a different person from the one who sent Matrigupta to rule over Kashmir. The first Vikrama according to the tradition rejected by Kalhana was a relative and a contemporary of a previous king of Kashmir by name Pratapaditya. If we take the Vikramaditya who sent Matrigupta to Kashmir to be Yasodharma Vishnu-Vardhana of Malwa who defeated the Huns in 528 A. D., and established an empire over the whole of Northern India as stated in his Mandore pillar inscription we get at some reliable history and dates and we are supported also by the evidence of Hiuen Tsang. For Hiuen Tsang relates that when he visited Kashmir the capital of that country was newly built and the traveller speaks of the new capital as distinct from the old. Now it is certain that Pravarasena II founded the present capital Shrinagar called also from him Pravarapura. When Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir in 631 A. D., we may take it that this new capital was not yet a hundred years old. Thus Pravarasena's coming to the throne must be placed some time after 531 A. D.—a time which is not inconsistent with the date of Vikramaditya Yasodharma of the Mandore pillar inscription of 533 A. D. We must give up the genealogy and history of the later Gonardiya kings given by Kalhana altogether and take two or three salient facts only as certain, namely, that Pravarasena II founded the new capital of Kashmir about 540 A. D., that Vikramaditya Yasodharma had sent a man named Matrigupta to rule Kashmir before this Pravarasena and that Pra-

varasena assisted Vikramaditya's son Pratapasila, also called Śiladitya, to regain his kingdom lost owing to his expulsion by enemies. This Pratapasila named also Śiladitya may thus have been the Śiladitya of Malwa who is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as ruling in Molapo.

But there is one difficulty. Hiuen Tsang states that the king of Valabhi, son-in-law of Harsha, was a nephew of the Śiladitya of Malwa. If Śiladitya of Malwa, after a rule of about 50 years, died 60 years before 640 A. D., *i.e.*, about 580 A. D., and was a son of Vikramaditya who must be supposed to have died in 530 A. D., how can his nephew be in 630 A. D. a young man? If we suppose that nephew stands here for a sister's son, even then this relationship cannot be accepted if we bear in mind the disparity of age between a supposed sister of Siladitya whose father died say about 535 A. D., and Dhruvabhata of Valabhi who was a young man of twenty-five or thirty in 630 A. D. Of course, if we take Hiuen Tsang's Śiladitya of Malwa to be a different person from the son of Vikramaditya it is possible to conceive that he had a sister from whom Dhruvabhata was born in the Valabhi family. The conclusion is that the identity of Śiladitya of Malwa with the Pratapasila Śiladitya, son of Vikramaditya mentioned by Kalhana in the *Rajatarangini*, is a matter of considerable doubt.

If the identity is, however, accepted * the history of the western portion of Malwa becomes very easy and straight and we may believe that the line of the great Emperor who defeated the Huns did not become obscure for a hundred years at least, but ruled in Western Malwa to which country we may properly assign Mandore where his Jayastambha was found. At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit, the grandson of this Śiladitya must have been ruling, for Hiuen Tsang relates that Śiladitya who was a most devout Buddhist had built a temple of Buddha near his palace. "This fine work had been continued for successive generations without interruption" (Records, Water's, Vol. II, page 242). The temple must have been added to in this way, for at least three generations, when Hiuen Tsang visited Malwa. The dynasty may be, thus, supposed to have ruled Western Malwa from before 528 to 640 A. D. for certain. Of course, the mention of successive generations of Śiladitya by Hiuen Tsang makes it impossible to believe with Dr. Hoernle that this Śiladitya could have been alive in 606 A. D. to attack Grahavarmā. As we have already said the attacker of Grahavarmā was Devagupta alone.

Dr. Hoernle's idea that Śiladitya of Molapo was a Pro-Hunic king seems also to be difficult of acceptance. I believe the only basis for

* And this may be done by taking the word nephew to mean that Dhruvabhata's father and Śiladitya of Malwa were brothers in the sense that they were the sons of two full sisters.

This supposition is that he invoked the assistance of Pravarasena I of Kashmir. But Pravarasena II was not a Hunic king. Even if we believe that his father was Toramana he was not according to Kalhana a son of Mihirakula. I do not think Dr. Hoernle's reference here to the Rajatarangini bears this out. Toramana was the younger brother of Hiranya, who imprisoned him for striking coins in his own name. His pregnant wife escaped and gave birth to Pravarasena. After Hiranya's death therefore, there was an interregnum for a time during which Matrigupta was appointed ruler by Vikramaditya. Pravarasena coming of age, recovered his kingdom on Vikramaditya's death from Matrigupta. If we follow Kalhana's story, then, Pravarasena was not a Hunic King. And Pravarasena assisted Śīladitya to regain his kingdom, with the probable object of recovering the throne of Kashmir kings which Vikrama had removed to Malwa as mentioned in Raj. III, 331.

If we keep Kalhana aside we may say that there was in Kashmir an interval of foreign rule, probably under the Huns, which Vikrama broke and Matrigupta was appointed by him to rule it, there being no claimant available. Pravarasena hearing of Vikrama's death and claiming the kingdom as a scion of the old reigning family took it back from Matrigupta. In short, in either case Śīladitya could not have been a Pro-Hun. He was a devout Buddhist and could not have been a bad man also. Of course, his capital was not Ujjain. Kalhana, as we have already said, confounds Vikrama *Sakari*,* the legendary hero of Ujjain with Yaśodharma, the conqueror of the Huns, who from his pillar erected at Mandsore may well be taken to have really ruled in Western Malwa, and his son Śīladitya naturally ruled there.

On one point, however, I think it is not impossible to accept Dr. Hoernle's idea. His suggestion that the coins of Harśa, Pratapaśīla and Śīladitya found with those of Īśanavarma and Grahavarma at Bhitaura, Fyzabad District, noticed by Mr. Burn in J. R. A. S. 1909 mentioned before, should be attributed to Yaśodharma and his son Śīladitya, deserves to receive more favourable consideration than it has hitherto done. By a strange coincidence the names Harsha, Pratapaśīla and Śīladitya apply to both Harsha and Pratapaśīla of Thaneser and to Yaśodharma and his son Śīladitya. Rajtarangini (III. 125) gives Harsha as another name of Vikramaditya and his

Śīladitya had also another name Pratapaśīla. (Ditto III. 3) years on these coins are as Mr. Burn says regnal. Harsha Thaneser established an era of his own, and his years

* Raj. III, 125 and 126 सक्कान् विनायक वेनदी कार्यमादौ लघुवत्तः।

regnal, but his father Pratapaśila like Śāna would rather use the Gupta era or some other era. He was not an emperor nor did he claim to be one. His titles and those of Śāna are the same and hence it is not probable that he would use his regnal years on his coins. He does not appear to have reigned long and his years, even if regnal, could not have been so many as 33 or 31. Thirdly, it appears from the Harsha-Charita that the coin of Harsha was marked with a bull. At least this was so in the first year of his rule (वृषाङ्कामाभिन्व घटितां हाटकमर्या मुद्रां समुपविन्दे H. C., p. 274) and the same would be the case with the coins of his father if they did not copy the Gupta coins. These arguments should induce us to attribute these coins to Harsha Yaśodharma Vikramaditya who was an emperor of India and his son Pratapaśila *alias* Śiladitya who would use his own or his father's regnal years. The name Śiladitya was a favourite one with Buddhists who valued virtue (शील) more than valour (विक्रम) and who thus gave this title to many kings of Buddhist fame. Śiladitya of Molapo was a staunch Buddhist and may have struck coins in that name also besides those issued in the name of Pratapaśila.

ART. XII.—*The Life and Times of Sri-Vedānta-Desika.*

By

V. RANGACHARI, M.A.,

Contributed.

In my former article on Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism from the death of Rāmānuja to the accession of Vēṅkaṭanātha or Vēdānta Dēśika, I pointed out how, in the course of the two centuries which elapsed from the one event to the other, the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas became divided into two parties, the orthodox and the popular, the traditional and the reformatory, and how the former party, more saintly than statesmanlike, withdrew from Śrīraṅgam to Conjeevaram, and made it the centre of their activities. I also pointed out how, in course of time, the danger with which Viśiṣṭādvaitism was threatened by Advaitism led to the recall of the leader of the orthodox and traditional party, the great Vēdānta Dēśika, to Śrīraṅgam and his formal assumption of universal āchāryaship. I now proceed to give an account of the events which characterised the āchāryaship of this great saint and scholar. Few Indians indeed there must be who have not heard of him and of the conspicuous position he occupies in the temple and domestic worship of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas of the South. Uninformed popular opinion holds him as a sectarian leader, as the leader of the northern school of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as against the south; but as a matter of fact his position was one of far greater responsibilities and of far more cosmopolitan interests. From one standpoint he was the universal āchārya of all Śrī-Vaiṣṇavites, namely in the Bhāshyic side of the creed. The erudition of the prabandhīa scholars, it should be understood, was necessarily narrow and their range of work and influence, from the standpoint of the historian of India, decidedly small. For they confined themselves solely to the perfection of that *aspect* of Vaiṣṇavism of which they were the leaders, and never devoted their minds to the formulation of schemes whereby Vaiṣṇavism, as a whole, could measure itself successfully against the other creeds of the land. But Śrī-Vēṅkaṭanātha had a double object in view and a double mission to perform. He was, in the first place, the champion of orthodoxy against what he considered to be heresy. But this was his smaller work. There was a larger, a far more ambitious work, which he always in view, namely, the declaration of the supremacy of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, as a whole, over the other creeds of the land. In respect he was the universal āchārya, as the triumph of Vaiṣṇavism

over other religions was a thing which even the prabandhic school had as much in heart. In other words, Vēdāntāchārya was the champion of two movements, one smaller and one greater, one internal and the other external. Internally he was the opponent of "popular heresy," externally, the champion of Vaiṣṇavism as against Śaivīṣm and its great leader, the celebrated Vidyāranya. In a consideration of Vēṅkaṭanātha's place in history, we may even go further and note a third position he occupied, a third mission he set before himself and that was to save Hinduism itself as against Mahomedanism. In this capacity he was the friend of Vidyāranya and co-operated with him in the overthrow of the Mlechcha. It is known to every student of history that in the beginning of the 14th century South India was attacked by the Mahomedans and the sovereigns of its ancient dynasties had to surrender their sceptres to their enemy or sacrifice their independence. From that time onward the whole of South India became a vast theatre of racial and religious feuds. The superior strength and fanaticism of the Mahomedan soldiery, their crusading spirit and the iron discipline of their creed, made them irresistible.

Vēdānta Dēśika's position in the religious history of India.

Torn by factions and caste quarrels, weakened by centuries of internecine wars and inefficient administrations, the Hindus were scarcely equal to the struggle, and had to look on with despair while slaughter and dismay were carried into their very homes, and pollution and blood into their temples. Consequently, thousands of afflicted people were prepared to barter their religion for their safety, and embrace the doctrines of Mahomed. Hindu Society was threatened, and it seemed that the religion which had been the life of the country from immemorial times was on the brink of forcible destruction. It was the organizing genius, the industry, the faith and the patience of Vidyāranya and Vēṅkaṭanātha, the respective leaders of Śaivīṣm and Vaiṣṇavism, that restored the faith of the panic-stricken people in their religion and brought about its triumph over Islam in this part of India. What Vidyāranya did for Advaitism, Vēṅkaṭanātha did for Viśiṣṭādvaitism. The former revived and continued the work of Śaṅkara, and the latter that of Rāmānuja. Both were men of extraordinary intellect and encyclopaedic knowledge, and rivals worthy of each other; but while they were the leaders of different schools of Hinduism, they were at one in their hatred of Mahomedanism. Vēṅkaṭanātha's position was thus a very singular one. He was, to put the whole thing in a nutshell, Hindu in his crusade against the Mahomedan, a Vaiṣṇava as a Śaivite, a Sanskrit-tamilist as against the practically exclusive Tamil in the holy studies. It was this many-sided activity that led to

Remarkable versatility of his writings, a versatility which is a literary marvel. More than 120 works he has left ; most of these are now extant, and prove how thorough his teachings were, how fertile his intellect was, and how exalted his views of life and conduct were. Humble and modest in his deportment, profoundly learned, saintly in his habits, he was the embodiment of all that was good and great, of the divinity in man and man's devotion to the divinity. His name has been cherished and revered by posterity not only for his sterling virtues as a man, and for his deep erudition and versatile genius, but for the firm and invincible mind with which, at a time of severe calamities, he encountered the troubles that afflicted those of his religious persuasion and rescued them, by the solid and substantial nature of his services, from their paralysing effects. No saint ever lived in more critical times, and none tided over them with such success and such glory.

Vēṅkaṭanāthāchārya was born at Tūppil, a part of the historic city of Conjeeveram, in 1269 A.D. His father, Anantasuri Sōmayāji was, as his name implies, an orthodox Vaishṇavite who had performed the Sōmayāga and who was a descendant of one of the 74 Simhāsana-dhipatis established by Rāmānuja, while his mother, Tōtāramba, was the sister of Ātrēya Rāmānuja or Rāmānuja Appullār, the successor of Varadāchārya as the Ubhayasimhāsana-dhipati. The story is that for years Anantasūri and his wife had no child ; that God Vēṅkaṭanātha of Tirupati and His Consort separately appeared to them one day in a vision, and promised them a son in case they undertook a pilgrimage to their shrine. They did so, and during their sojourn in that holy place, Śrinivāsa once again appeared before the sleeping Tōtāramba in the guise of a boy, and presented her, through her husband, with a bell, saying that she, by swallowing it, would be the mother of an illustrious son. The next day, the bell of the sanctuary was missing and the authorities, who suspected the priests were about to chastise them, when information reached them of the remarkable dream of Anantasūri and his wife. The narration of the dream only

The birth and parentage of Vēṅkaṭanātha.

caused the scepticism and laughter of the authorities ; but at this stage, the Jeer of the great shrine, who had been, it is said, informed by God Himself of his act, appeared on the scene, and confirmed the miraculous account which the pilgrims of Tiruttanga gave. All insinuations were then changed into applause, and all laughter into reverence. As the God's chosen devotee, Anantasūri obtained the homage of respect from all the people of Tirupati, and returned soon to Conjeeveram. Twelve years later, on Wednesday, under constellation

Śravaṇa, of the Tamil month of Puraṭṭāṣi, of year Vibhava,¹ Kṛ 4371, S. 1100 or 1101, Tōtāramba gave birth to a son, whom the exulted parents named Vēṅkaṭanātha, after the God whose gift he was. A child of penance and prayer, of a family remarkable for scholarship, Vēṅkaṭanātha evinced, even when he was a boy, an extraordinarily precocious genius and a thirst for knowledge far beyond his years. Descended on his father's side, from one of the 74 Simhāsanādhīpatīs established by Rāmānuja, and on his mother's side from the chief of the Bhāshya Simhāsanādhīpatīs, Vēṅkaṭanātha was born, and brought up in a pure atmosphere of piety and learning; and therefore when, after the advent of his eighth year and the investment of the sacred thread, his studies began, he passed hours, which other boys of his tender age devoted to amusement, in study and meditation.

It was in his fifth year, that is, three years before his Upanayana, that he was evidently introduced by Ātrēya Rāmānuja (Appillār), in whose charge he had been entrusted by his father, to the illustrious society of scholars at Conjeeveram. It was, as I have said, an assembly of no mean talents. There was the able, the eloquent, the erudite, Naḍādūr² Āchārya, busy expounding, with a

The story of his precocious genius. clearness and lucidity essentially his own, the profound works of his great predecessors. There was, in the midst of the audience, the learned Sudarśanāchārya³ who took down everything which his teacher said, and who thereby became the agent through whom the *Śrutaprakāśika* was published to the world.

It is a point of dispute among scholars whether Dēśika was born in *Vibhava* or *Śukla*. The latest edition of the *I. G.*, for example, mentions *Śukla*; but the Maṇḍiravāla work, *Vaibhavaṇḍaśāstra*, which is the standard authority on Dēśika's life and which was written by Mahāchārya and commented on by his disciple Srinivāsa Mahāsūri, attributes the teacher's birth to year *Vibhava* (See p. 21). It further says that certain other works on the teacher—the *Āchāryaśāstra*, the *Āchāryaśāstra*, and the *Āchāryaśāstra*—which should have been recognized works of authority give *Vibhava*. The *Ashtottara-śata-nāma-vali* which is repeated in the worship of Dēśika, moreover, calls him *Vibhavaḍḍasamutpanna* (विभवदसमुत्पन्न). The whole question was once in dispute and settled in favour of *Vibhava*. *Śukla* should have been the year of *Ādāpūrti*. See *Vaibhavaṇḍaśāstra*, p. 129.

* That is, Naḍādūr Ammaḷ or Varadāchārya, the 4th Ubhayaśimhāsanādhīpati. See J. A. S. Bo. B., 1914-5. . . where I have already sketched his career.

† In a note on the Soraikkavur plates of Virūpākṣa, dated S. 1308, Venkayyah points out that the name Vijaya-Sudarśanapuram by which the village came to be known, might be in memory of Sudarśanāchārya, unless the title Vijaya-sudarśana was a surname of Virūpākṣa or his father. See *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 305. As the name Sudarśana is very common among the Hindus, this interpretation seems to be far-fetched. It may be pointed out here that Prof. Aufrecht mentions, besides the *Śrutaprakāśika*, another treatise by Sudarśana-Bhatta, namely, *Āpastambagrihyasūtra-tika*. He also wrote a commentary on the daily *Sandhyamantras*, which has been published in Telugu character. See *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.* by Prof. Rangacharya.

There was, again, the earnest Kṛishnapāda (Vadakkutiruvīdhi-Pillai) who, unsurpassed in his knowledge of the Nālāyira-prabandha, and revered as leader by the growing Prabandhic party, was supplementing it with a study of the Bhāshyas under the great Varadāchārya. It is said that, when Ātrēya Rāmānuja (Appillār) came to the assembly with his nephew, Kṛishnapāda (Vadakkutiruvīdhi-Pillai) burst into open admiration at the highly intellectual air of the boy, and asked who he was. The Āchārya and his disciples then came to know of the strange history of the boy, and were speaking about it when an incident happened. The panegyrists of Vēṅkaṭanātha narrate with pride how, when Varadāchārya wanted to resume his lectures, he could not get from his own disciples the place where he had stopped, but that the untutored boy of five reminded ¹ him of the topic he had been lecturing upon; and how the reverend lecturer lifted the youth in his arms and bestowed on him a blessing, accompanied by the prophecy that he would rise to a position equal to that of the great Bhāshyakāra himself. The miraculous birth of the young hero, the marvellous knowledge and memory he showed at an age when even the letters of the alphabet could not adequately be learnt, were enough to show to Varadāchārya that the future champion of Viśiṣṭādvaitism, the future leader of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava world, was before him. And with great earnestness, indeed, did he desire to educate him himself; but age and weakness made that honour impossible. He therefore asked Ātrēya Rāmānuja (Appillār) to continue to look after his education and to fit him to the great mission that awaited him.

Varadāchārya died, as I have already pointed ² out, soon after his meeting with Vēṅkaṭanātha, that is, some time in 1278. At the point of his death, Varadāchārya appointed Ātrēya Rāmānuja (Appillār) as his successor. The latter, however, remained at Conjeeveram and therefore the Āchāryic duties at Śrī-raṅgam devolved on his brother disciple Sudarśanāchārya. At Conjeeveram, Ātrēya Rāmānuja devoted himself as much to the education of Vēṅkaṭanātha as to the expounding of the Bhāshya and the Prabandha. And to impart education to Vēṅkaṭanātha was indeed a pleasant task. Very soon the master found that, to his ingenious nephew, the deepest philosophy and the most emotional poetry were congenial studies. So fondly did

¹ An exceedingly garbled version of this is given in the Teṅgalai work *Palanaḍavolakkam*. It says that Appillār took Dēvika when he was a child to the lecture hall; that the child went to the Āchārya and touched his feet; and that he asked the child, in play, whether he, like his ancestor Viṣvāmātra, was going to create a phantom world. The story is characteristically silly and childish.

² *J. R. A. S., Co. Br.*, 1914-5, p. 111.

Vēṅkaṭaṇātha take to his studies that in a short time his mind was saturated with all the knowledge and business of his age. In the Vēdas and Vēdic lore he became, as one of his admirers says, the equal of

His education
under Ātrēya Rā-
mānuja.

Vyāsa himself! In the sciences of Vyākaraṇa (grammar), Tarka (logic) and Mīmāṃsa, in the Itihāsaṣ and Purāṇas, in astronomy and the art of poetry, in the literature of rituals, in the various creeds¹ of Sāṅkhya, Yōga, the Buddhistic, the Charvaka, the Jain, Śaivite, &c., in the Smritis of Bharadvāja, of Śaṅḍilya, of Hārta and others, he attained an admirable and unrivalled mastery. In the purely spiritual field of Mantrārtha, agnin, he became an equal of Nātha Muni and Yāmunāchārya, while in the mastery of the Tamil Prabandhas he equalled his talented teacher. Never in the religious history of the world do we find such a deliberate, sound, and versatile equipment designed solely with the view to future leadership. Never has there been a grander preparation for spiritual sovereignty in history and in no case, has the result been so dazzling, so penetrating and so momentous. In every branch of knowledge the great teacher has left gigantic monuments of his gigantic intellect, and the cult of Rāmānuja, the spreading of which was the sole object of this training and the sole mission of Vēṅkaṭaṇātha, was placed on an unassailable basis in the land. Our admiration for the marvellous ability of Vēṅkaṭaṇātha is all the greater when we realise that all these wide and intense studies were completed by the twentieth year of his² age.

Soon after the completion of his education Ātrēya Rāmānuja (Appillār) celebrated Vēṅkaṭaṇātha's marriage with one Tirumaṅgai, a lady of a highly orthodox family. This was the last service that the great teacher rendered to his pupil and nephew; for not long after he settled Vēṅkaṭaṇātha in the Gṛhasthāśrama, he departed this world, appointing his nephew to the Āchāryic dignity and bequeathing to him the sandals of Rāmānuja, as well as the Śaṅkha and Chakra he had been using. At the point of his death, we are informed, Appillār impressed on his talented pupil the greatness of the mission that awaited him,—the firm establishment of Rāmānujism throughout the land, and bestowed on him, with a view to enable him to successfully accomplish this, a Mantra to be

¹ Vide Śloka 26-29 of the *Saptatīratnamālīkā* by Prativādi-Bhayaṅkara

² That Deśika completed his education by his 20th year is proved by a passage in his own drama *Saṅkalpasūryodaya*. (विशाल्यन्दे विभुत नाना विष विष).

addressed to Garuḍa for his gracious co-operation.¹ Never for a moment did Vēṅkatanātha forget this. From the moment of his master's demise, he began those stirring and soul-thrilling expoundations which were to make Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism philosophically one of the richest religions in the land. Ever hungry for the propagation of true spiritual knowledge, he felt that it was necessary to avail himself of the Vainatēyamantra to propitiate Garuda and get his grace. He therefore left Conjeeveram—he must have been at least twenty-two then—and fixed his residence at Tiruvahindrapuram,² a picturesque village on the banks of the Gadilam, about five miles to the west of Cuddalore. Tiruvahindrapuram had already become, thanks to tradition and legend, a prominent stronghold of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism. The local legend says that once Dēvanāyaka-Perumāḷ, the god of the village temple, was thirsty and asked his servant and vehicle, Garuḍa, to bring water, and that the latter traced with his beak the channel in which the river flows at present. This is the reason, says the Purāṇa, of the river running at the very foot of the temple. Situated on the very brink of the Gadilam (Garuḍanadi), and on a terrace close under the high and picturesque plateau of Mount Capper, the temple of Dēvanāyaka attracts thousands of pilgrims every year, as much for the beauty of its situation as for its holy associations and festivals. For the antiquarian also it possesses a singular interest in the fact that, besides containing numerous inscriptions of the Chōla and Pāṇḍyan kings, it figures in the Nalāyiraprabandha, a circumstance which makes us infer that the temple must have been considerably prior to the ninth century.

It is not known how long Vēṅkatanātha stayed at Tiruvahindrapuram. According to a tradition³ he lived there for 15 years. The Guruparampara, however, and every other authority, is silent on the question. One thing is certain,—that it was in this place that Vēṅkatanātha laid the foundations of that renown for expoundation and original composition which made his name so unique in the annals of Vaiṣṇavism. So splendidly did he distinguish himself in both these aspects of his work, that miracles became necessary to explain it. We are told how he sat at the foot of an Asvattha tree in the vicinity of the Narasimha shrine on the Aushadhādrī hills, and invoked and obtained personal communion with Garuda, and received from him a Mantra to be

¹ According to tradition Appillār was himself the avatār of Garuḍa. For a panegyric on him by Gopālasūri called *Iḍḍihamsāmbuddhāryastōtram*, see *Dev. catal. Sanct.* MSS Vol. XIX, p. 7125.

² See *S. Arcot Gaz.*, p. 98, and 721-4. The place is generally called Tiruvēṇḍipuram. A *Sth. ilamāhātmya* of the place has been printed and published.

³ *S. Arcot Gaz.*, p. 321.

addressed to Hayagrīva,¹ the Lord of knowledge ; and how with the aid of this Mantra he obtained the generous audience of Hayagrīva, and became, thanks to the nectar he gave him, the most learned man in the world and the authorised expounder of the Vēdānta. The result was seen in the fact that, throughout the period of his stay there, the rising philosopher won steadily increasing attention, and delivered himself vigorously to a large and growing audience on the doctrines of Vaiṣṇavism and (as he declared) its superiority to other religions. The magnetic personality of the preacher, the marvellous store of knowledge which he brought to bear in refuting the beliefs and principles of other creeds, especially those of the advaitic school, and the sincerity which cast a glow of beauty even over his controversial efforts, made him an ideal teacher who commanded the admiration of his followers and the respect of his opponents. It was at this period, probably, that his unrivalled Vēdāntic lore and literary skill gained for him the titles of Vēdāntāchārya, Kavītārīkasiṃha and Sarvatantra-svatantra.²

One fact must be remembered in regard to Vēdāntāchārya's career as an Āchārya, namely, his preference of a Gṛhastha's life. He did not believe that his mission could not be a success unless he took to

monastic life and immured himself in a cloister. He delivered his instructions not in secluded places far away from the busy world, but in the very homes of his disciples, thereby raising the dignity of a householder's life. This consecration of the daily resorts of men to the study of religion had the natural effect of making the communication of knowledge easy and rapid. An ever increasing number of scholars heard his lessons, and the schools of Viśiṣṭādvaitism became much more thronged than they had ever been. A rapid succession of followers, who came from different quarters of the country, diffused the name of their teacher till it reached the utmost limits of the Sanskrit and Tamil languages. Vēṅkaṭanātha's labours were not confined to preaching alone. He wrote many original works. He first composed the panegyrical poems, *Hayagrīva Stōtra*³ and *Garuḍapanchā-*

¹ Hayagrīva was the incarnation of Viṣṇu on the occasion of his rescuing the Vēda from the Daityas. "The adorable, the Sacrificial Male (*Puruṣa*) in the sacrifice inaugurated by Brahmā, because Hayasirṣha, of golden complexion, full of vēdic inspiration, full of sacrifices, the self (Ātman) of the deities who are adored by their performance. The sublime words (i.e., the Vēda) were created from the nostrils of this breathing one." (Quoted from Sridhara by Dr. Grierson in his article *Gleanings from the Bhaktamāla*, J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 631-32.)

² Tradition, however, says that these titles were confirmed by God Raṅganātha Himself at Śrīraṅgam in recognition of his splendid services there.

³ It consists of 32 stanzas mostly in Upajāti metre. All these works have been printed and are eagerly read by all Śrī-Vaiṣṇavites.

*śat*¹ on the gracious authors of his greatness. The local God *Dēvanāyaka* he then addressed in his *Dēvanāyakapanchāṭa*,² which he followed up with his *Achyuta-śataka*, a work of 100 verses in the *Ārya* metre, in *prākṛit*, "whose affinity with the spoken dialects of the time remains to be investigated. A Tamil³ work of his, *Paramutabhanga*, is an able and exhaustive review of all known philosophies and systems, about sixteen in number, somewhat on the plan of *Mādhavāchārya's Sarvadarśanasangraha*. Unlike that work, however, it is not a mere statement of the doctrines, but a condensed and learned refutation of every system other than the *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. It is practically a summary in Tamil of the vast learning contained in the author's Sanskrit works, and is useful for those who are not special students of the latter. The *Gōpāla-Vimsatī* is a popular Sanskrit hymn of twenty stanzas, in perhaps the sweetest language that this learned writer ever employed, on *Śrī Krishna* and his early exploits." The *Raghuviragadyam* is another important work of this period, and is, as its very name implies, a panegyrical address on *Rāma* as the God of Might and Mercy, and is at the same time a digest of the *Rāmāyaṇam*. Besides these Sanskrit writings, *Vēṅkaṭanātha* composed nine small works in pure Tamil. These were, unlike those we have already mentioned, on apparently less serious topics, but really on the divine couple, on "the sportlike workings of the Divine Pair in their rule over the universe." One was, for example, on playing with ball; another on swinging; a third on wit, and so on. Almost all these have been lost, but they prove that *Vēṅkaṭanātha* wanted to inculcate spiritual truths even through the usual channels of amusement.

After a few years' stay at *Tiruvahīndrapuram*, *Vēṅkaṭanātha* returned to *Conjeeveram*, where he seems to have lived for the next few years,—years devoted to instruction and composition. "With his usual facility he composed various hymns on the deities of that place, the most important of which is the *Varadaraja Panchāṣat* on the God at *Kanchi*, which is a work of considerable merit. Every

stanza, as may be expected, bears the impress of his deep learning and vast piety. He also composed here *Nyāsa daśaka*, a short work on *Prapatti*, the doctrine of surrender, which *Vēdānta*

Dēśika's return to *Conjeeveram* and his works there.

Dēśika elaborated in numerous later works. He also composed

¹ It consists of 51 stanzas in *Sragdhara* metre. It should be remembered that *Garuda* is embodied *vēda*.

² A poem in 53 verses. It celebrates the glory of the God of *Tiruvahīndrapuram*, as the God of Gods.

³ In *Maipravāla*, as a matter of fact. The creeds to which *Dēśika* refers are .—

Lokāyatika, *Mādhyanika*, *Yōgāchāra*, *Sauttrāntika*, *Vaiśiṣṭhika*, *Prachannabauddha*, *Māyāvāda Advaita*, *Jaina*, *Bhāskara*, *Vaiśeṣhika*, *Vaiyākaraṇa*, *Naiyāyika*, *Nirvaramimāmsaka*, *Nirvavarasāhikya*, *Yōgaviddhānta* and *Pāsupata*.

various works in Tamil, verse and prose, embodying in easy language, the substance of his teachings for the edification of those devoid of sanskrit learning," namely,¹ the *Adaikkalappattu*, the *Arthapanchakam*, the *Sri-Vaishnava-dinachari*, the *Tiruchinnamalai*, and *Panniru-namam*. VĠṅkatanātha then wrote his famous *Hastigiri-Mahatmya* in Maṇipravāla style on the paurāṇic history of Conjeeveram, which he followed up with *Śaranagatidīpika*,² *Ashtabhujashatakam*,³ *Yathokta-karistotram*,⁴ and *Kamāsikashatakam*.⁵ Subsequently, on the occasion of his worship of Vijaya Rāghava in the suburb of Tirupputkuli, he sang the celebrated *Paramarthastuti*,⁶ which was soon followed by certain panegyric works on the Lord's Sudarśana. Never had Conjeeveram been such a seat of intellectual activity as in the days of VĠṇṭanta Deśika and never was it to be so in future.

When VĠṅkatanātha was about thirty-five he seems to have been led by the same missionary zeal as distinguished His northern some of his predecessors to undertake a proselytising tour into Northern India. Starting from Conjeeveram, he first visited Ghatikāchalam and Tiruchānūr, and came to Tirupati, where he worshipped his tutelary deity, in whose praise he wrote the *Dayā-Śataka*, a poem with a melodious style and profound thoughts. As its very name implies, it is a poem with 100 stanzas. The first decade demonstrates the sole right of the Lord to give Moksha. The second dwells on the all-knowingness and other attributes of God, the third on His grace in the removal of His devotee's enemies, the fourth on His accessibility, the fifth on His guidance to Mōksha, the sixth on the absolute necessity of Prapatti or self-surrender for purpose of salvation. The last four decades dwell respectively on the tender grace of God, His omnipotence, His incarnations, and lastly the nature of Mōksha, the aim of all life. The

¹ The *Adaikkalappattu* is a Śaraṅagiri hymn in 11 stanzas. The *Tiruchinnamalai* is a bugle song in 11 stanzas in honour of the Lord's festive procession in the Brahmōtsava festival at Conjeeveram celebrated every May. The *Pannirunamam* consists of 13 stanzas on the method of meditation during the process daily of wearing the 12 *pundra* marks on one's person. The *Sri-Vaishnavadinacharya* contains 10 stanzas and summarises the life of a true Srivaiṣṇavite as enjoined in the *Pāncardīya*. The *Arthapanchaka* contains 11 verses on the five points to be mastered by a devotee viz. (1) the nature of the Supreme Being who is the goal of the aspirant, (2) the nature of the soul (who attains), (3) the means of such attainment, (4) the fruits or consequences accompanying such attainment and (5) the impediments in the soul's way of such attainment. See M. K. Tattacharya's *Life of VĠṇṭanta Deśika* 75-6 which contains at the end a valuable list and summary of Deśika's works.

² This was composed as a panegyric of Dipaprakāśa at Luppil in elucidation of Śaraṅagiri. It consists of 60 verses in Sanskrit.

³ 8 verses on the Sarmed Gayendraravada who saved Gayendra.

⁴ 10 verses. The story refers to the exploits of Tirunaṅgai Alwār.

⁵ This poem is on Kamāsika Nṛsimha on the banks of the Vagavati (*Kamāsika*, capable of assuming any shape at will and pleasure).

⁶ A hymn in 10 stanzas on the manly Hero who is the Refuge of the humble. *Ibid*

whole poem is considered by the orthodox to be an expansion of the sacred Mantra known as Dvaya, which is the root of Prapatti. Vēṅkatanātha then proceeded northward, met his old acquaintance and co-disciple, Vidyāraṇya, on the banks of the Tungabadhra,¹ which he was soon to make immortal by the foundation of Vidyānagar, and no doubt had a discussion with him in regard to the relative merits of Advaitism and Viśiṣṭādvaitism. We have no materials from which we can gather the real substance of the discussion between these two intellectual giants; we are told however that the two friends soon had to part owing to an incident which took place soon after. The daughter of the king of the adjoining region, we are told, became possessed, and as none could cure the malady, the king came to the two saints and prayed to them to take pity on his child. Vēṅkatanātha had no desire to place himself under obligation to an earthly potentate, but Vidyāraṇya, always statesmanlike and always in touch with the world, responded to the royal invitation and parted with his friend. It is difficult to say who this king was. The *Vaiṣṇavaprakāśika* calls him Bukka Rāya of Vijayanagar, but it could not have been he for the simple reason that Vidyānagar itself was not founded till 1336. It might have been the ruler of Anagundi; but no other history mentions any incident in connection with him. Most probably it was a local chieftain whose name is yet to be ascertained, not improbably a vassal of the Hoysala Empire. From Vijayanagar the philosopher went, by what route we do not know, to Brindavan and Mathura, the soil which had been hallowed by the feet of Śrī-Krishṇa, and thence to Ayōdhya and Benares. He then commenced his return journey, and after visiting Pūri, Śrīkūrmam, Ahobilam, Tirupati, Tiruvallūr, Tiruninravūr, Triplicane, Tirukkadalmalli and Śriperumbūdūr, he reached his native place. An exact pronouncement on the chronology of this tour is impossible; but it can be surmised that it must have ended by the first decade of the 14th century.

After Vēṅkatanātha's return from his tour he stayed for a few years at Conjeeveram. The *Guruparampara* gives a graphic description of the simplicity, the knowledge, and the love of poverty which he displayed during his stay here. A magician, it says, came.

Anecdotes of his Conjeeveram life.

¹ For short accounts of the Life of Vidyāraṇya, see *Mys. Gaz.* I, p. 345. For his place in the succession list see *ibid.*, p. 474 and Buchanan, II, p. 281. He was at the head of the Śringerī maṭha from 1331 to 1386. Vide Dole's *Panchadasi* for an account of his works; also *Mys. Ep. Rev.* 1908, p. 15, and 1909, p. 24 for a detailed discussion of Vidyāraṇya's parentage. Mr. Narasimhachar's discussion is very interesting though perhaps speculative; but it is obvious that it need not be reproduced here. As regards Vidyāraṇya's co-disciple, also with Deśika, no information is available. We are told that Vidyāraṇya's Guru was one Sarvagana-Vishṇu. Was he connected with Deśika also?

to the philosopher and invited him for controversy, and failing therein, resorted to magic. Entering into a tank, he drank water, and made it fill his adversary's stomach, and cause pain. Vēṅkaṭanātha knew at once the cause of the complaint, and took prompt means to remove it. By scratching a pillar, he made the water flow out in a miraculous¹ manner! om there. The magician found that in Vēṅkaṭanātha he met a better magician, and in abject submission, prayed for forgiveness and took his leave. On another occasion² a bachelor came to Vēṅkatanātha and, incited by his adversaries, asked him to give him money for his marriage. Vēṅkatanātha himself was living, as every orthodox Brahmin should, on the charities of the charitable; but wedded as he was to poverty, he wanted to prove that his poverty was a thing of his own making. He therefore prayed to Lakshmi, the Goddess of wealth, to satisfy the poor but deluded suppliant. The prayer of the saint was immediately heard, the bachelor became a millionaire, and Vēṅkaṭanātha's enemies were disappointed in the achievement of a triumph.

The time soon came for Vēṅkaṭanātha's leaving Conjeeveram for a larger sphere of activity, for his formal assumption of the headship of the Vaiṣṇava world at Śrīraṅgam. Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa, the great grandson of Kurūṣa and the author of the Śrūtaprakāśika, was, as has been already mentioned, then the Āchārya there; but he had already reached the evening of his life, and felt too weak to bear the onerous duties of his position. He had indeed a number of able disciples, including the prabandhic leaders Peria-Achchan-Pillai, Pillai Lōkāchārya, etc.; but these were wanting in that versatility of scholarship, that consecration on the Bhāshyic throne, which was the essential requisite of the universal Āchārya. The enemies of Viśiṣṭādvaitism, the Advaitins, took advantage of this state of things, and coming to Śrīraṅgam, challenged the leaders either to defeat them in controversy or embrace Advaitism. A panic seized the leaders, and they were at a loss as to what they were to do. After mutual consultation, however, they resolved to invite Vēṅkaṭanātha from Conjeeveram to Śrīraṅgam and formally assume the championship of Vaiṣṇavism. They seem to have thought that Vēṅkatanātha might perhaps be reluctant to leave the place where his ancestors had lived, and where he had spent his youth and

¹ It is to this period that the Guruparampara assigns Vidyāranya's invitation to Vēṅkaṭanātha to come to Vidyānagar. This is wrong. For Vidyānagar was founded as late as 1336, after Vēṅkaṭanātha's flight from Śrīraṅgam and the capture and sack of it by the Mahomedans in 1327. The invitation must have really taken place during Vēṅkaṭanātha's exile at Satyamangalam.

² At Śrīraṅgam, very late in his life.

early life. They therefore proceeded to the shrine of Raṅganātha and impressed on the priests and authorities the necessity of a special invitation of the great man in the name of the Lord, in order to save His religion. Thus it was that a divine mandate ¹ summoned Vēṅkaṭanātha to instantly proceed to Śrīraṅgam and free it from the threatened dominance of the Advaitins. Vēṅkatanātha promptly obeyed the divine call. Personally the embodiment of resignation and humility, he however felt the necessity to formally become the spiritual king of the Vaiṣṇava world. Accompanied by his disciples, he came to the great stronghold of his creed on the banks of the Kāvēri, and welcomed by the temple authorities as well as all parties in the city in great pomp and honour, he formally undertook, in the presence of the Goddess and God, the defence and the expoundation, the preservation and extension, of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism.

It is not known for certain when this formal election took place.

The date of his arrival, c. 1310. It seems however safe to assert that Vēṅkatanātha must have reached the prime of his age when he was elected; for the first fifteen years of his life,

the period of childhood and youth, were spent at Tappil, and the next 15 years at Tiruvahindrapuram. He must have been at least thirty-five when he set out on his extensive journey into North India; and as, in those days, roads were exceedingly bad, and travelling difficult and precarious, we shall not be far from the truth if we assign a period of seven or eight years for his tour, which, it should be remembered, extended over a distance of 2,000 miles. Vēṅkatanātha must have been therefore more than forty years old, when he was anointed as the head of the Vaiṣṇavite community at Śrīraṅgam. And as he was born about 1270, it is plain that his nomination cannot have taken place before 1310. This date introduces us to an important controversy. We know that in 1310 the tranquillity of South India, disturbed for centuries by internecine wars among its various dynasties, was finally destroyed by the Mahomedans. We know that, in his advance to Rāmeśvaram, Malik Kafur gave a free rein to slaughter and rapine, levelled to the ground hundreds of temples which had been reared at an almost incalculable expenditure of time, skill, and energy, demolished the idols, and thus inaugurated the policy of sience iconoclasm pursued by his Mussalman successors. The question now arises whether Śrīraṅgam shared this general disaster of 1310. According to some writers it did suffer, but according to others it escaped the vandalism of Kafur and succumbed only seventeen years later, in

¹ It was in the form of a communication (written in a palm leaf) sent by the priests in the name of the Lord, and in accordance with the popular demand. It was of course a unique tribute to Deśika's scholarship.

1327, to another¹ Mahomedan irruption and attack. The latter view seems to be the more probable. It may indeed be argued in support of the former opinion that such a prominent centre as Śrīraṅgam could not have escaped at a time of such universal destruction. Yet is it not likely that, in the hurry of his movements and his anxiety to return home, Malik Kafur would not have cared to waste his time and resources in a contest, which he expected to be deadly, with the people of Śrīraṅgam? Moreover, there is another important reason. It is a known fact that among those who suffered during its capture Vēdāntāchārya was one, and that he had been for years before the invasion the leader of the Vaishnavite community. If the Mahomedan attack on Śrīraṅgam had taken place in 1310, it is obvious that Deśika must have become the Āchārya at about 1300, that is, when he was little more than thirty. But we have already seen that he stayed till his 30th year at Tiruvahindrapuram and Conjeeveram and that he undertook his long northern tour after it, and that he could not in consequence have come to Śrīraṅgam before forty. A number of manuscript chronicles in the Mackenzie collection, besides the *Kōṭṭolugu*, above all, clearly say that the Mahomedan conquest of the south took place after S. 1246. We may therefore conclude that, at the time of Malik Kafur's invasion, Vēdānta Deśika had not yet returned from his tour, and that he was invested with the pontifical robes sometime after the invasion of 1310-11.

The period of the apostolic labours of Vēṅkatanātha at Śrīraṅgam was perhaps the most glorious in his life, certainly His career at one of the most important epochs in the history of Śrīraṅgam. of Vaishnavism. His first task after the acceptance of the apostolic throne was to engage the Advaitins, who had challenged the leaders at Śrīraṅgam, in controversy, and to vanquish them after a tough intellectual fight which lasted for eight days. The substance of Vēṅkatanātha's arguments is given in that monumental work known as the *Śatadūshani*² and in the judgment of the orthodox, no more powerful polemical treatise exists in Vaishnava literature. The immediate result of this victory was, we are told, the desire on the part of God Raṅgaṇātha that Vēṅkatanātha should stay there permanently as the expounder of his cult. And Vēṅkatanātha obeyed the mandate. With the fiery ardour of a preacher, he combined the

¹ The *Mack MSS., Kōṭṭolugu*, &c., clearly attribute it to 1327. For a discussion of the whole question, see my *History of the Nāik Kingdom of Madura, Ind. Antig.*, 1914, pp. 2-4 (January).

² A portion of this work is lost. The most celebrated commentary on this is the *Chandamārutam* of Mahāchārya of Sholinghur.

laborious tasks of an expounder, commentator and original writer. Besides expounding the Śrī-Bhāṣya, the great commentary of Rāmānuja, thirty times, he found leisure to write numerous works of great merit in connection with it,—the *Tatvaṭika*, an extensive gloss on the Śrī-Bhāṣya; the *Tatparyāchandrika*, an elaborate commentary on the *Gītā-Bhāṣya*; the *Nyayasiddhāṇṇana*, a text-book of Viśiṣṭādvaitic logic; the *Sāṣvara Mimamsa*, a commentary on Jai Muni's work with a view to trace the relationship between the Pūrva and Uttara Mimāṃsas and to demolish the common theory that the former system is atheistic: the *Adhikarana Sārāvali*, "a series of

Sanskrit verses summarising the discussions of the various types of the Vēdānta Sūtras; and the His philosophic and other works.

Tatva-muktā-kalāpa,¹ an elaborate and critical discussion of the nature of the Universe in the light of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy, together with an explanatory gloss on it called *Sarvarthasiddhi*. He further wrote certain soul-stirring hymns on the Goddesses Śrī and Bhū, on the ten avatārs, and on Rāmānuja (यतिराज-सत्तनि). In response to the requests of his followers he delivered a series of lectures on the ideals of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism and the daily habits which a true Śrī Vaiṣṇava should adopt, and these lectures were embodied into the allied treatises of *Saccharitra-rakṣhā*, *Rahasyarakṣhā*, *Pāñcharātra-rakṣhā*, *Nikṣhēpa-rakṣhā*, *Gītārtasangraha-rakṣhā*, &c., which remain, even to-day, the most classical and authoritative treatises on the subject. In explanation of the Mantras which together with the Bhāṣyas and the Prabandhas formed the triple basis of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism he wrote, in the Manipravāla style, the *Tatva-padavi*, the *Rahasya-padavi*, the *Tatvanavanīlam*, the *Rahasyanavanītam*, the

¹ A verse from this is quoted by Vidyāranya in his *survadar-anusangraha*, see *Mys. Ep. Rep.*, 1909, p. 24. The term *Tatvamuktā kalāpa* means "the pearl necklace of ultimate realities in the Vēdānta." A gloss on it called the *Gūḍhaprakāśika* by Śrīnivāsa Guru alias Tātaya-Deśika is in the Govt. Mus. Library, Madras. For a notice of it, see *Trienn. Catal. Sanskrit Mss.*, 1910-3, Vol. I, p. 6, by Prof. Rangacharya. The Bhāṣya on the *Isadvāsyōpanishad* was also written at this time (*Ibid.*, Vol. I., 308-9.)

² The first of these is in defence of the orthodox regulations regarding the puṇḍra or caste marks, the disc and conch-marks, and food which had first to be offered to the deity. (*Ras catal.*, I, 183.) The *Pāñcharātra rakṣhā* upheld the Vaidic authenticity of Pāñcharātra system (See *Des. Catal.* xi, p. 4074.) *Nikṣhēparakṣhā* was a defence of the doctrine of *Saranāgati* (*Des. Catal. Sanskrit Mss.*, Vol. xi, 4058-60.) The *Gītārtasangraharakṣhā* was a commentary on Yāmuna's *Gītārtasangraha*. It may be mentioned that in addition to these treatises, Deśika wrote at this time, in response to Peria-āchchān Pillāi's request, the *Nyāsatilaka*, *Nyāsavimśati* and *Nyāsadasakam* in Prapatti. For a commentary on *Nikṣhēparakṣhā* see *Des. Cat. Sanskrit. Mss.*, Vol. xi, 4060-2. The *Sajjanavarāibhava*, a treatise of Deśika on the greatness of the followers of the Vaikhāṇasa school of Vaiṣṇāgama, belongs evidently to this period. (See *Ibid.*, p. 4192.) The *Mīmāṃsāpadūku* is another metrical treatise of the period. (See *Ibid.*, Vol. iv, p. 324-7.) *Haridīnatilaka*, a work on the greatness of the Ekādāśī feast. (See *Ibid.*, Vol. vi, p. 2568; Vol. v, p. 2198) is not his work.

Tatva-Ratnāvali, the *Paramapada-sōpānam*, and 25 other similar works, thereby clearly analysing, elaborating and strengthening the views of Rāmānuja.

A word may here be said of the nature of Vēdāntāchārya's writings and his position among the literary luminaries of India. His writings have not attracted from oriental scholars that amount of attention which they deserve for the reason that they are mostly sectarian—not that Deśika was narrow in his views or fanatical in his tone, but the times in which he lived needed a writer whose mental energy and critical acumen should be devoted to polemical uses. But for him and his writings the Viśiṣṭādvaitic school would have lost half its strength, especially as the gigantic intellect of Vidyāranya was working on behalf of the Advaitic system. He was, therefore, as much an advocate as a religious leader. He was by necessity an ardent partisan. But what Hinduism in general lost, Vaishnavism in its most important aspect gained. In spite of his extensive lore, his genius had to be intensive. Yet it must be said to his eternal credit that his writings bewilder the reader by their versatility, their deep thought, their beauty of style, their moral fervour, and the spiritual insight which inspires them. As a poet he is widely appreciated, while as a philosopher he belongs to the first rank. While the Ālvār was the *seer*, the actual realiser, of Īśvara as Śrīpati and as Saranya, to be won by Prapatti, while the Bhāṣhyakāra was the *thinker*, the enunciator of that God-idea, Vēdānta Deśika was the *teacher*, the artistic elaborator of the same; and in this work of teaching he pursued the versatile career of the poet, the philosopher and controversialist, and the populariser. His poems, Sanskrit as well as Tamil, represent his first function; his Śāstraic works like the *Tatvamuktakīlāpa*, the *Satadhūṣam* and commentaries like *Tātparyāchandrika*, etc., shew the philosopher and controversialist; while the Manripravāḷa lectures as in the *Rahasyatra-yasāra* are the monuments of his popularising efforts. No wonder his own age hailed him as the *Kavitārkikasmha*, the lion of poets and philosophers, and no wonder that posterity has known him more by his title than by his name.

The efforts of Vēṅkaṭanātha were not confined to the work of explanation and expoundment of his religion. He never forgot the higher task for which he had been summoned to Śrīrangam, the subjugation of the Advaitins. No opportunity he allowed, therefore, to pass, without doing something to attack that school. The Guruparāmpara says how

Deśika and
Vidyāranya.

at this time,¹ there arose a great dispute at Vijayanagar between Akshōbhyamuni and Vidyaranya regarding the respective doctrines of the reality (तत्त्व) and illusion (Māya), how both sent their contentions through the king, to Venkatanātha for arbitration, and how the latter pronounced, as may be expected, in favour of the defender of the doctrine of reality. how Vidyaranya thereupon, in anger, resolved to criticise the *Satadushani* but finding no doctrines there assailable, pointed out a single mistake in the presence of a letter च, and how Venkatanatha put his rival to shame and effectual subordination by defending it in a work चकार समर्थन. The story is not, in the main, an invention of partisans. For it is more or less certain that Akshōbhyamuni the last of the four chief disciples of Madhvacharya and the fourth in apostolic succession from him, belonged to the 14th century though it is chronologically incorrect to say that Vidyaranya was at this time the Minister at Vidyanagar. The great city was to be founded years after 1200 in 1306 and Akshōbhyamuni was to become the head of the Madhva sect about 1350, and to say therefore that Vidyaranya sent a communication through the king to Venkatanatha at this early stage of his career, is clearly an anachronism. But the story mistaken as it is in detail sufficiently illustrates the state of conflict between the two schools of philosophy and the wider range of Vedānta Desika's activities.

¹ The whole question of Akshōbhyamuni's interview with Vidyaranya depends on the date of Madhvacharya. For Akshōbhyamuni was the disciple of the latter. Now according to tradition Madhva was born or became a Sanyasi in a certain Vilambi and died in a certain Pingala in his 70th year. The three Vilambi dates possible are A.D. 1118, 1176, and 1238 and the three Pingala dates 1197, 1258 and 1317. The Uttara and other Mitts attribute the teaching to 1118-1138. Mr. Subhaskar takes this view and believes that 1130 is probably the first anniversary of the Guru's departure and that by some confusion it was mistaken for the date of birth. Mr. C. M. Padmanabhacharya the author of *The Life and Teachings of Sri Madhva* (Bombay 1909) points out that recent archaeological discoveries show that this view is untenable. Sri Madhva had four disciples who followed him one after the other to the headship of the sect. These were Padmanabhā Tīrtha, Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, Madhva Tīrtha and Akshōbhyā Tīrtha. Of these the first came seven years after Madhva's departure and was head for seven years, the 2nd for 9 years, the 3rd for 17 years, and the 4th for 17 years. Now Nārāyaṇa's date is determined by epigraphy to be after S. 125 or A.D. 129, because till that year he was minister of the Kalinga king. So he must have become a disciple of Madhva after 1293. If Madhva continued to live after 129, the Pingala of his death should have been according to Mr. Padmanabhacharya A.D. 1317. It can be inferred from this that Padmanabhā became the Guru in 1324, Nārāyaṇa in 1331, Madhva in 1348 and Akshōbhyā in 1357. The accession of Akshōbhyā would in other words be 21 years after the foundation of Vidyānagar and thus agrees with the statement in the *Varshavakprabandha* that there was a controversy between the Dvaitic and Advaitic leader. Mr. Padmanabhacharya considers it to be a genuine and authentic record and should be taken as a good chronological basis. Dr. Bhandarkar is not unaware of epigraphical references to Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha but he attributes Madhva to S. 1110—S. 1198 (i.e. 1198—A.D. 1276). See his *Varshavakprabandha*, etc., p. 59. But I believe, Mr. Padmanabhacharya's conclusion to be more satisfactory.

The same thing is further proved by the account which the Guruparampara gives of a meeting of Vēṅkatanātha with another Advaitin and writer, Krishna Misra. This great scholar invited and engaged Vēṅkatanātha in controversy for three days and finding himself defeated, passed from philosophy to literature, and offered, in a proud and unbending spirit, his Advaitic drama *Prabodha-Chandrodayam* for Vēṅkatanātha's perusal. The latter we are told surprised his adversary not only by a miraculous knowledge of the contents of his work, but by composing, in one night, the celebrated drama *Saṅkalpasuryodaya*,¹ in criticism. No drama is more keenly read by the orthodox Vaiṣṇavas than this remarkable production. It is a moral and allegorical work in ten acts, in which the revered author describes the trials and troubles which the soul encounters in order to obtain Godhood, *i.e.*, to become part and parcel of the Lord. The good as well as the evil dispositions of man are personified and introduced on the stage, and throughout the work there is such an innate and mysterious grandeur that it is hardly possible to find a more brilliant and intellectual production in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. After the defeat and disgrace of Krishna Misra, another poet, Dindima Kavi by name, the author of the Kavya Rāmābhyudaya, invited Vēṅkata Desika for a literary contest. The latter promptly composed in order to silence him the two poems of *Hamsasandēśa* and *Yadābhyudaya* and made him acknowledge his defeat in a pungent verse addressed to the victor.

¹ For an analysis of the play see Rāṅgapāṇḍiārya's valuable book on Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. For a detailed criticism of the *Hamsa sandēśa* and its comparison with Kalidasa's Megha sandēśa in which it was modelled see Pāṇḍiārya's *Life of Vēṅkata Desika*. A good edition of the early contents of the *Yadābhyudaya* on the birth and adventures of Śrī Krishna has been issued by the Vani Vāsanti Press, Srirangam. The *Yadābhyudaya* is a very fine and elegant poem and was much admired by the great Advaita scholar of the 16th century Appaiah Dikshita; that he wrote a highly valuable commentary on it. No greater homage is possible to the poetic genius of our saint than the genuinely appreciative gloss of the leader of a rival creed. Even in the name of the poem the erudite scholarship of Deśika is seen. The *Hamsa* was the form in which Vaiṣṇava undertakes to teach the Sivaitic or Pāṇḍita doctrine. The *Hamsa* is thus *Isvara* (J. R. V. S. 100) p. 63) hence the name *Hamsa sandēśa* for the poem. With regard to *Rāmābhyudaya* which Dindima Kavi is said to have composed, I have not been able to find out how far it is a fact. *Autrecht's catalog* gives two works of that name, one by Yasovarmā quoted by Anandavardhana in *Dharmasandēśa* and *Sahitya Darpaṇa* by Śrī Rāmādeva, and the other by Vēṅkatasā, given by Burnell in his Tanjore catalogue (1866). I don't believe that Dindima's *Rāmābhyudaya* refers to either of these. Nor can it be the same as the work of that name written by Ayyaṇḍayya Rāmābhidra Kavi who lived in a later period about 1520 in Krishnadeva Rāya's times. See *Ravi's Catalogue* III. 211. I understand, however, that in the possession of Dindima's descendants at the village of Mullupuram near Arq (N. Arcot Dist.) there is a work called *Rāmābhyudaya* by one of the family. The chronicles of this family are in the possession of my friend Mr. Rangarāma Sūrisetti and they have mentioned Dindima who was the contemporary of Bukka and Vijaya and who received the village of Attuvār from Bukka. The family chronicle is called *Vibhāgīya namāvali*.

The story of Krishnamiśra's¹ challenge is incredible not only for the reason that it is of an absurd and miraculous character, but for the chronological inconsistency it involves in saying that a writer of the 12th century—for Goldstucker attributes Krishnamiśra to that period—met and held a disputation with Dēśika who lived in the 13th and 14th. The story can only mean that Dēśika composed his celebrated drama after a perusal of, and as a reply to, the Advaitic treatise. The tradition regarding Dēśika and Dīṇḍima Kavi, however, is not impossible. It is true that the name Dīṇḍima denotes a family of poets rather than an individual poet! but it is not difficult to shew that there *was* a Dīṇḍima Kavi who was the contemporary and, as the *Vaibhavaṇḍaprakāśikā* informs us, a rival of Vēṅkatanātha. Four Dīṇḍimas, so far as our present literary and historical knowledge goes, we hear of in the literary history of South India. These were, in the first place, that Rājanātha Dīṇḍima who composed the *Achyuta Rāyābhvudayam* in honour of Achyuta Rāya (1530-42) and who lived in the 16th century; secondly, that Rājanātha Dīṇḍima who composed the *Sāluvaṇḍabhyudam* in honour of Sāluva Naraśiṅga, the celebrated founder of the Sāluva dynasty of Vijayanagar; thirdly, the Dīṇḍima who, was the author of the *Prahasana Sōmavalli yogānandam*, who was known as Arunagiri-nātha, who was the contemporary of Dēva Rāya II, and who boasts of having conquered all South Indian poets, and obtained, as a mark of his unique triumph, the privilege of a bell-metal drum; and fourthly, the Dīṇḍima who, according to the *Vaibhavaṇḍaprakāśikā*, was met and vanquished by Vēdānta Dēśika. It is certain that the Dīṇḍima Kavi, who met Vēdānta Dēśika and who was defeated by him, was the ancestor of the other three.

It is not surprising that, as the admirers of Vēdānta Dēśika say, his greatness was openly recognized and proclaimed by Ranganātha himself. Through the instrumentality of an inspired priest, he is said to have broken into a panegyric on Vēṅkatanātha's twofold efforts of the elaboration of Viśiṣṭādvaitism and the overthrow of Advaitism, and graciously bestowed on him, in grateful return, his own name and title "Vēdāntāchārya," while his consort, equally overflowing in kindness, followed it up with the unique and remarkable designation *Sarvatantrasvatanttra*, "the master of universal lore of all possible branches of knowledge." The historian can hardly give credence to the theory of divine inspiration and reward; but it is not difficult to believe

¹ See Weber's *Sanskrit Lite. Rars Catal.* II gives ample notices of the work.

that the whole Vaishnava world was dazzled by the intellectual brilliance of its king, its remarkable versatility, its deep intensity.

The reputation of Vēdāntāchārya as the greatest teacher of Vaishnavism after Rāmānuja soon became universal. The opposition of jealousy. A large number of men, in the first place, from various parts of the country, came to Śrīraṅgam, and carried the lessons of his lectures and the tale of his greatness back to their places. Vēdāntāchārya, at the same time, constantly went on tour and impressed the people everywhere with his marvellous genius in expoundation and original composition. In one of these minor tours, he composed a hymn on *Goda* during his stay at Śrīvilliputtur. While temporarily staying at Conjeeveram, again, he is said to have vanquished a snake-charmer who, at the instance of a few jealous men, questioned the eligibility of the Āchārya's title *Sarva-tantrasvatānta*, and said that he could fitly bear it only if he vanquished him. Unwilling to engage in controversy with one unworthy of his attention, Dēśika, we are told, simply drew seven lines on the ground, and challenged the snake-charmer to do anything he liked. The latter thereupon despatched a number of serpents against him, but none could cross the mystic lines. A single cobra, Śankhapāla by name, was able, owing to its vigour, to overcome the obstacle and approach Dēśika, but at this stage a panegyric hymn addressed by the teacher to Garuḍa (गरुड दण्डक) resulted in his arrival and his taking away the serpent ! The magician acknowledged defeat, and prayed, in a spirit of humility, for the recovery of Śankhapāla, and Vēdāntā Dēśika, we are told, secured its return by Garuḍa by invoking his grace once again ! More obstinate than wise, the magician once again tried his powers and caused a stomachic complaint to Dēśika by the same means which a magician had once adopted at Tiruvahindrapuram, but Dēśika vanquished him by the same means, and silenced him for ever. A similar tale represents him as having asserted, in an equally unmistakable manner, his right to the title, at Tiruvahindrapuram. An artisan was the challenger this time. Instigated by Dēśika's enemies, the artisan taunted him with vanity in assuming the title, and challenged him to sink a well, under the impression that a Brahmin of such a high birth and breeding could never subject himself to the hardship of so menial a task. Dēśika however applied himself to it, and lo ! in a few days there was as fine a well as there was in the country ! The pious traveller who is in search of ancient monuments and interesting relics can see it even to-day.

Vēṅkaṭanātha's career, however, was an object of envy, we are told not only to stray individuals who questioned his right to the title *Sarvatantrasvalāntre*, but to the definite formidable movement known as Teṅgalaiśm which was now, as I have already pointed out, organized and led by the two brothers Piḷḷa Lōkāchārya and his brother.

The opposition of Teṅgalaiśm under Piḷḷa Lōkāchārya and his brother, Lōkāchārya and Aḷaḡia Maṇavāla Perumā Nainār, and which, based as it was on a radically different principle from the traditional ideal represented by Vēdānta Dēśika, made no secret of its hatred for him. An impersonation of orthodoxy and a doughty champion of Brahminical supremacy, the sole authority on the Bhaṣhyas and the most profound living scholar and writer in Sanskrit, he represented all that was traditional and conservative in Vaiṣṇavism, and all that was obnoxious in the eyes of the new party. They looked upon him, therefore, with a sullen and grim hatred. They considered him narrow and fanatical, reactionary and unsympathetic. They disliked his imagined assertion of Bhaṣhyic superiority, they denounced his caste stringency and his doctrine of Prapatti, they resented the restrictions he imposed on life. It is hard to believe how they could have reasons to denounce him heart and soul, inasmuch as he was not wanting in Prabandhic lore. Indeed, in this respect, he was even superior to the specialised leaders of the other school itself. For, the Tamil poems he wrote collectively known as the *Dēśikaṇḍa* surpass in their style and thought, anything that the writers of the southern school ever wrote. Nevertheless, the party of Aḷaḡia Maṇavāla Perumā Nainār hated him. They saw what he was in other respects, and they ignored the points in which they agreed with him.

The Guruparampara mentions a number of incidents which go to prove how ardently the Āchārya was hated by them. The activities of the Prabandhic party. Aḷaḡia Maṇavāla Perumā Nainār and his admirers, we are told, once invited Dēśika for controversy with them; but Dēśika who refused to see an opponent in a Vaiṣṇava, refused to answer. He felt that a disunion among the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas was a curse, that he would not be author of it. He refused to believe that the texts and commentaries of his predecessors were capable of different and antagonistic interpretations. He attributed such differences to "weak intellects," intellects that could not properly grasp the ideas. He therefore always made it a point not to allow himself to be driven by party passions, and change his position of Āchārya for that of a partisan. Both by nature and by principle he was against such a degeneracy. By nature meek, humble and respectful to all, he would not, even if he could, entertain the idea of engaging his brother religionists in disputation. By principle, he

was against it, as he knew it would weaken the religion of which he was the head and give a handle and an opportunity to people who belonged to other creeds and who were interested in seeing its downfall. His opponents, however, attributed his refusal to incapacity, and with a view to put him to shame, hung up a number of shoes on the threshold of his house. When the Ācharya was going out, in consequence, his head came into contact with them, but he reviled none. Too noble to descend to condemnation, he exclaimed, in the spirit of a true saint, that some were dependents on Karma, some on knowledge for salvation, but he on the shoes of the worshippers of the Lord. On another occasion, his enemies caused, by the power of magic, we are informed, such a delusion in the mind and affections of his followers that none was able to attend the anniversary Śrāddha of his father. Undaunted and undismayed, the Ācharya carried out the ceremony as usual, placing the idol of his deity Hayagrīva in the place of the representatives of his ancestors, the Dēvas and the Lord. At the nick of moment, three mysterious Sri-Vaishnavas arrived, and after taking part in the ceremony, passed away in the very presence of the men who had been the authors of the mischief. To the curious and surprised questioners, the teacher gave reply that, if men deserted him, the Lord of Śrirangam, Conjeeveram and Tirupati, could protect him, and an astonished and repentant flock paid homage to the sage.

Ajāgia Manavālī Perumāḷ Naināi, however, was too obstinate a man to be abashed by these miracles. His object was to bring about Vēdāntāchārya's downfall in some way or other. He therefore proposed that the Āchārya could be entitled to the term Kavitarākā-simha only in case he undertook, like himself, to compose a poem of 1,000 stanzas on the Lord, in the space of a single night. The brother of Pillai Lōkāchārya was no mean scholar. By close application he wrote 300 verses instead of the 1,000 he wanted to complete by dawn, on the lotus feet of the Lord ¹ (पद कमल सहस्र). Dēśika made no special preparations. The first and last quarters of the night he spent as usual in devotions, and the third in sleep. The second quarter alone he devoted to the composition of the poem. Within that short space, we are informed, he completed a stupendous work of 1,000 verses, the celebrated *Padukā sahasra*, ² on the sandals of God, their formation,

¹ The work seems to be extinct.

² Printed by the Kāvyamālā series and in Grantha character. In his *Rare Catal.*, i, p. 100, Taylor says in connection with this work that "it is difficult to think of puerility going so far in recent idolatry." It has been commented on by various writers, e.g., Śrinivāśāchārya, son of Dēva Rāja, and Nrihari of Hānta gōtra. *Des. Catal Sans Mss.*, XL, p. 735-6.

their *abhishēka*, their flowers, their ornaments and so on. Even in the name of the poem we find the spirit of competition under the influence of which it saw the light. His young but deluded rival had promised to celebrate the glory of the Lord's Lotus-feet, and Deśika devoted himself to the celebration of his sandals! When the next day, the learned assembly of scholars met in the temple, and the inspired priest asked the two to produce their respective works, the difference was found to be so transparent and the applause on Vēdānta Deśika's name was so genuine, that Nainār and his men expressed repentance for their rebellious egotism and adopted a more conciliatory and respectful behaviour.

In one sense we may say that the dispute into which Vēnkaṭanātha was dragged was a blessing. It convinced him that, if he was to bend the stubborn will of the other party, he must do so by producing works in the very sphere in which they considered themselves to be masters. He wanted to prove, in other words, that in prabandhic lore he was not inferior to anybody amongst them; that, if he chose, he could beat the neglected but talented author of the 24,000 itself; that his genius was, like his own life, deliberately fettered; that in reality it knew no limits, intensive or extensive. This must explain that strange ebullition of of Prabandhic spirit in him which we find at this period, that deluge of works on the Nāḷayiraprabandha with which he furnished and dazzled the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava world. Based on the lectures of his uncle and preceptor, he composed a commentary on the works of the Ālvārs, known as the 74,000,—a designation which gives us an idea of its gigantic scope and its scholarly elaboration. It was in reality an amplification of the 6,000 of Tirukkuruhaipiran-piḷḷan and a counterblast to the series of allied commentaries known as the 9,000, the 24,000, and the 36,000 of the Prabandhic school. It must have been of singular value to the student of religion; but unfortunately it has been lost, and the most monumental work on which the admirers of the Āchārya fastened his claim to his reputation as the exemplar of Prabandhic scholarship, has been lost to the world. Deśika also wrote ¹ commentaries on Tiruppānālvār's *Amalanāḍippirān* and *Madhuraḥavi's Kaṇṇinun-Śiruttambu*, besides summarising the teachings of Prabandhas in two Sanskrit works, *Dramiḍōpanishadsāra* and *Dramiḍōpaninshad-Tātparyaratnāvali*. Over and above these, his prolific genius produced short treatises on the *Mantra*, the *dvaya*, the

¹ The commentary was called *Munivāhanabhūga*, i.e., the experience of Munivāhana or Tiruppānālvār. The next work, the *Madhuraḥavi-hrīdaya* is lost. The two Sanskrit works are extant and in print, and so popular that they are printed even by the Teṅgalai editors of the 36,000. No greater tribute is possible.

Charama ślōka and the *Gīta*, which those who were ignorant of the holy tongue could study. It seemed as though Deśika was inspired by the desire to disprove the accusation of his opponents that his intellect was bound by the shackles of classicism and to prove that he could adapt his spirit to the needs of a prabandhic age.

It was while Deśika was at Śrīrangam that men came to him from Sarvagna Śingappa,¹ a ruler of the north, with the request that he should favour him with his teachings. The orthodox treatises do not say who this chief was ; but it is plain from his dynastic name that he was the prince of the dynasty of Venkatagiri. Śingappa belonged to a line of chiefs who took pride in patronising literature and encouraging learning. The term Sarvagna, all-knowing, attached to the contemporary of Deśika is eloquently indicative of the high regard in which his scholarship was regarded by his contemporaries. We are not told when Śingappa first made the acquaintance of the teacher. Perhaps he did so in the course of his tour to the north before his assumption of the Āchāryaship at Śrīrangam. However it might have been, he seems to have been held in high regard by the Āchārya. For, unable to proceed himself to the chief, Deśika had the grace to readily despatch a few of his disciples with the gist of his teachings in four treatises specially written for the edification of the royal suppliant,—the *Subhūṣitanirī*, the *Tatvasandēsa*, the *Rahasyasandēsa* and the *Rahasya sandēsavivaraṇa*. Śingappa welcomed the messengers and their literary treasure with as much pomp and warmth as he would have displayed in welcoming the Āchārya himself, and escorting them

¹ The *Vaidharaṇḍīyaka* (p. 106) says that he was the son of Madhava Niyaka and the ruler of Ekāślānagari-Rājama-hēndrapattapa. Ekāślānagari is identified by some with Vontimitta in Caddapah and is said to have formed part of Venkatagiri Samasthāna of which Sarvagna Śingama was the Chief. Virēśalingam Pantulu says that he was the 10th in descent from Chevi Reddī alias Bhētāla Nāidu the founder (See pp. 123-4). Śingama is further said to have been the author of a treatise on rhetoric called चमत्कार चन्द्रिका or *Singabhūpāḍyam*. Mr. Krishna Sastri does not believe that the Śingama of Venkatanātha's acquaintance was the Venkatagiri chief, "since the Zamindars of Venkatagiri could hardly have extended their powers so far north as Rajahmundry, and so surmises that 'Singa the pupil for whom Vēdānta Deśika wrote his works is to be identified with Śingava Niyaka, brother of Mummudi Nāyaka of Korukopd (*Madh. Ep. Rep.* 1913 pp. 129-30, para 71)". But Virēśalingam Pantulu points out that the houses of Rajahmundry, Koṇḍavidu and Venkatagiri were closely connected by intermarriage and that Venkatagiri was an offshoot of Rajahmundry. On the contrary it is also held by some that Sarvagna Śingama was a feudatory of Warangal (Ekāślānagari) Kākatiya, that his capital was not Vontimitta but somewhere near Warangal, that Virēśalingam Pantulu is wrong in saying that Venkatagiri was the capital for the simple reason that it came into the hands of Śingama's descendants much later on and that he is equally wrong in his view that the Velama family of Venkatagiri was related by blood with the Koṇḍavidu Reddīs.

to his capital, proved his enlightenment and his earnestness by a study of his idol's teachings.

One interesting event in the private and domestic life of Vedānta Dēśika is to be noticed now, and that is the birth of a son, the celebrated Varadāchārya. Under the constellation Rōhini of the month of Āvani, year Naja, K. 4418, corresponding to Wednesday, 11th August, 1316, A. D., Varadāchārya¹ was born. And no father had a worthier son to be proud of. Born and brought up in a spiritual and scholarly atmosphere, Varadāchārya distinguished himself, even in his youth, as an intellectual prodigy and began to study the Bhāshya at a very early age. A capacity, so unique and so marvellous, could not but ensure the homage of men, and even aged scholars were not unwilling, we are informed, to sit at his feet and study the holy truths.

The transcendent brilliance of Sri Vēdānta Dēśika eventually led to the resort of desperate measures against him by his unscrupulous enemies, measures which resulted in the great Āchārya's self-exile from Śrirangam. Tradition says that when Dēśika was once sitting in the verandah of his house, busy with some studies, the disciples of Kandādai Lakshmanāchārya, a scion of an Āchāryic family, mistook the absent-mindedness of Dēśika for indifference to their preceptor and, with more energy than intelligence, dragged the Āchārya by his feet. Surprised and pained at the treatment, Dēśika was perplexed at this strange and unfortunate experience, when he saw the arrival of Lakshmanāchārya, and learnt the cause of the heroism of his disciples. With characteristic humility he saluted that leader, while regretting the wanton brutality of his followers. The immediate result of this incident was the resolution of Dēśika to give up a place where he had such a sad experience of the strength and number of his adversaries. Pained by the discord among Vishnu's worshippers but unable to remove it, Dēśika felt that Śrirangam was no longer a fit place for him; that he would not only consult his safety, but ensure the cause of spirituality, by a timely and honourable retreat from it. It was a step which he must have been very reluctant to take. To part with Raṅganātha, to leave the place where he was the rightful king for years, and where he won glory as the champion and saviour of Viśiṣṭādvaitism, was no welcome thing; but the Āchārya could not eternally expose himself without defence, to the fury of the unscrupulous men who surrounded him. His gentle nature could not brook to be daily confounded with their stern spirits. He felt moreover that, after all, his exile might be made the

¹ I am indebted to Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai for this date.

means of further conquests and a source of further propaganda, that his personal misfortune might, in other words, lead as in the case of Rāmānuja, to public good. Realising that he should follow the example of Rāmānuja, Dēśika resolved to find refuge in the province of Mysore. There after a visit to Tirunārāyanapuram and other scenes of Rāmānuja's labours, he fixed his abode at the important and strategic place of Satyamangalam. ¹ Here in the precincts of the temple of Varadarājā, equally sanctified by the Bhavāni, he spent his days, in the company of his devoted followers and in his lectures on the Bhāṣhyas as well as the Prabandhas.

It is difficult to say when exactly these events took place. I have already pointed out that Dēśika should have come to Śrīraṅgam about 1310. It is not known how long he was lecturing there. He was, at all events, there when his son Varadāchārya was born in 1316 A. D. His exile to Satyamangalam must have taken place, I believe, about 1320. And for the next forty years he evidently remained there. It is not meant by this that he permanently attached himself to this place. It was consistent neither with his religious spirit nor his calling to confine his activities to a particular spot. But it was there that the members of his family lived. It was there that he gained the homage of men who saw in him a deity, and who were afterwards to make his name the source of a cult in the land. It was there that his son Varadacharya grew into a youth, into a man, into a scholar, and lastly into a religious leader. It was there that even his enemies like Kandādai Lakshmanāchārya yielded to him and hastened to celebrate his glory. It was there that scholars like Brahmatantra-Svatantra Jīyar became his disciples, overthrew scholars of other creeds, and paved the way for the extension of the Dēśika cult in Mysorē ² and elsewhere. A few years after his settlement at Satyamangalam, Dēśika had to repeat his visit to Śrīraṅgam and rescue it from the threatened dominance of another Advaitin. The Guruparampara tells us how, through his disciple Brahmatantra-Svatantra, he subdued the controversialist and thus earned fresh laurels and fresh reasons for the gratitude of all parties.

It was at this time that the capture and sack of Śrīraṅgam by the Mahomedans, whose arms had already overthrown the glory and great-

¹ "Though apparently never strongly fortified it derived some strategical importance from the fact that it lies near the southern end of the Gairhatti pass which was the ordinary route from Mysore to this District (Coimbatore)" *Impl. Geogr.*, Madras, II, p. 95; Sewell's *Antiquities*, I, p. 216; Buchanan, I, p. 455, where he calls the place Satumangalam. The *Vaidhavanaprakāśika* calls it Śaktumangalam.

² It should be remembered that the Parakālamartha which was founded a few years after Dēśika's death and the head of which is the Guru of the Mysore royal family is a Vaḍagala institution. There have been 90 Jīyars up till now.

ness of the South Indian powers and whose bigotry accomplished the ruin of the South Indian religions, took place, in 1327. The dreadful news of their march reached the shrine, while they were still in the distant¹ region of Toṇḍa maṇḍalam; and the temple authorities headed by the manager, Śrī-Ra ga-Rāja-Nātha-Vāthūla-Dēśika, cast a lot as to whether the image of Ranganātha was to be carried to a safer place or not. Providence favoured the retention, and so they celebrated, as usual, a festival of the season. Soon, however, while the festival idol was in a Maṇṭapa on the Kāvēri bank, the news reached the people of the arrival of

The Mahomedan capture and sack of Srirāṅgam 1327.

the Mahomedans at Samayāveram. In great alarm, the *Kōilolugu* informs us, Vāthūla Dēśika placed a curtain before the image so as to give the idea that the puja was being conducted. Ordering the 12,000 Brahmins who were assembled there to resist the invaders, or perish in the attempt, sent away, in secret, the image of Raṅganātha in a small palanquin, defended by a train of one priest, two servants and a few people, to the south. The indefatigable manager then proceeded to the temple, and speedily sent the image of the Goddess also, with the jewels of the shrine, to join the previous party. He further erected partition walls of stone at the entrance of the sanctuaries of the God and Goddess, in order to protect them from profane eyes, and placed pseudo-images in front of them. The Mahomedans soon came to the river and a fierce battle ensued between them and the 12,000 men who, as we have already seen, had awaited, with animated faith, the attack of the invaders. The former were defeated and massacred, and the victorious Islamites entered the precincts of the great shrine. Then began a system of remorseless pillage which the Mahomedan disbelief or disregard of other churches always excited in a hostile territory. Maṇṭapams and images of the sub-shrines were destroyed and mutilated, and the cries and prayers of the people were treated with scorn. An end was made of free religious worship, and where there had been a most busy religious activity the previous day there was now a widespread destruction and an irreparable gloom.

The immediate effect of the Mahomedan conquest and occupation was not only the end of free religious worship, but the disorganisation of the religious establishments of Vaishnavism. We have already seen how God Raṅganātha himself was flying as a refugee, towards Madura. A number of prominent men naturally followed the image with the resolve of seeing its safety at any cost. Vēdāntāchārya prepared himself, with the others, to do the same. It seems that the chief men of Śrīraṅgam were not for this proposal. They seem to have thought

¹ For an account of the Musalman invasion and its effects on the fortunes of Śrīraṅgam, see the *T. G. Yatindravarmanprabhāva*, *Kōilolugu* and *Vaiṣṇavaprakāśika*.

that Dēśika should devote himself to a greater task. They seem to have thought that the Lord would take care of Himself ; that it was better for the world if Dēśika returned to Satyamaṅgalam with the Śrutaprakāśika and other Mss. of the Bhāṣhyas.

Dēśika's saving the Śrutaprakāśika by flight.

To follow the image of Rangaṇātha, especially as there were so many others to do it was no advantage ; while the successful return of Vēdāntāchārya to Satyamaṅgalam would save the Bhāṣhyas or their traditional interpretations from oblivion. The great Sudarśanāchārya, the author of the Śrutaprakāśika, was the leader of this movement. He handed over the Śrutaprakāśika to Vēṅkaṭanātha, imploring him to examine it and publish it. He further entrusted the safety of his two boys¹ with Vēṅkaṭanātha. To the mind of Dēśika the appeal of Sudarśanāchārya went home. He anticipated the passing away of the misfortunes of Śrīraṅgam and the return, in course of time, of the Lord to his great shrine. He saw that no advantage was gained by his joining the party of refugees. He felt, on the other hand, that the true Bhāṣhyic interpretations were in the danger of being lost in case he did not take his admirers' advice. He therefore gave up his original intention and made up his mind to go, with his disciples to Satyamaṅgalam, and labour as of old in the philosophic field and await better times. He promptly hid the Śrutaprakāśika amidst the sands of the Kāvēri, and himself passed, in company with the boys who were placed under his guardianship and protection, a day of panic and suspense amidst a heap of corpses. At sunset, he emerged out of his uncomfortable refuge, and joined by Brahmatantra-Svatanttra Jiyar and other disciples who had missed him sorely and who had been looking for him in great grief and suspense in every corner of the unfortunate city, reached Satyamaṅgalam. His departure was immediately followed by the martyrdom of Sudarśanāchārya, Alagia Manavāla Nainār and others. The distinctions of party vanished before common disaster, and men who had hitherto belonged to opposite doctrines, competed with each other in embracing this opportunity of obtaining the crown of martyrdom. The Musalmān General was incapable of feeling mercy. Both his nature and his training were against toleration ; but at this crisis an incident happened, says the *Kōlīolugu*, which led to a comparatively better state of things. The charms of a courtesan of the temple allured the Mahomedan to comparative mildness, and induced him to

Cessation of worship at Śrīraṅgam.

suffer the people, the remnants of an once teeming population, to enjoy or rather practise a precarious exercise of religious worship ; and though, some time later the sudden experience of a

¹ Their names were Vēdāchārya Bhaṭṭa and Parāṅkuṣa Bhaṭṭa. See *Vaiṣṇava-prakāśika*, p. 114.

disease excited the manomecan's superstitious fear, and disposed him, on account of his attribution of it to Brahminical magic, to repeat the policy of vandalism, the influence of his mistress moderated his insolence, and made him satisfied with the mutilation of the Maṇḍapams and the minor sculptures, like the Dvārapālakas, instead of a wholesale destruction of the temple. The disease of the conqueror and his suspicion of Brahminical incantations, however, did not abate. He therefore demolished the walls of the temple, built with their materials the fortress of Kannanūr,¹ and proceeded to live there. His absence from Śrīrangam as well as the noble and timely services of a Brahmin, Singappiran, by name, who was in the service of the Islamite governor, alleviated the horrors of the conquest, and preserved the temple from further vandalism and the people from further tyranny.

Meanwhile the party which carried the images of Ranganātha and His

The fortunes of
Ranganātha's
image.

Consort had no small difficulty to surmount. The most important among them was Pillai² Lōkāchārya, the leader of the southern school. Nothing more disastrous could have happened to cause him

grief and anxiety. But while his love of Ranganātha caused him so much grief, the same feeling inflamed his devotion, and imparted a new vigour and a new strength to him. With sleepless vigilance the small party travelled in haste and in danger in the midst of woods and forests. Before the party proceeded a few miles to the south of Trichinopoly, they were deprived of the jewels and valuables by a set of Kallā marauders, who thanks evidently to the downfall of the Pandyan monarchy and the confusion of war, took leave of the peaceful and honourable occupations of life and engaged in the more lucrative trade of highway-men. The story is that, at the time when the robbery was perpetrated, Pillai Lōkāchārya was gone some distance in front, and that, when he heard of the loss of his Lord's jewels, he voluntarily sacrificed those that were in his possession also.

The refugees at length reached the village of Jyōtishapura. The

The death of
Pillai Lōkāchārya

safety of Ranganātha was, if we are to believe the *Koṭilugu* (as well as the *Vaiṣṇavaprakāśika*), not a little due to the sleepless labours of Pillai Lōkāchārya, and the effect was seen in his thorough exhaustion and breakdown. Bodily labour as well as mental anxiety acted fatally on his constitution, and after an illness which lasted for about a fortnight, during which the images were at Jyōtishkuḍi, he died. In the history of Tengalaism he is undoubtedly the greatest

¹ In the 13th century this place played an important part as the capital of the Hoysala conquerors.

² See the *Koṭilugu*, *Ītīन्द्रprasaṇaprahāṣa*, and *Vaiṣṇavaprakāśika*.

ture; for it was he that gave it a literary tradition and literary support.

As for the images of Raṅganātha and His Consort it is unnecessary to dwell in detail upon their fortunes. It is enough to point out that they were first taken to Alagar-malai, then to Madura, and then, for safety's sake, to various places in the west. At Calicut, it is said, the images of Namālvār and many other local deities also joined the mournful procession. They were however left in the hands of their respective guardians, and the image of Ranganātha was soon at Punganūr, then at the great shrine of Tirunārāyaṇapuram, and eventually at Tirupati, where it was daily worshipped with the image of Śrīnivāsa, and where it was destined to be for the course of a generation.

Meanwhile Vēdānta Dēśika proceeded, in company with his disciples, to Tirunārāyaṇapuram in Mysore, where he spent a few years in the service of the deity of the place and in the continuation of his lectures. The activity of the Āchārya revived the drooping spirits of Vaiṣṇavism and the loss in the Chōla realm was more than made up by what was gained in the Hoysala. It is true that even Vīra Ballala III had a precarious tenure of power and had to give up his capital and lead an obscure life at Tonnur¹; but the calamities which afflicted the royal house did not interfere with Dēśika's activities among the people, or diminish his triumph among them. Once again Mysore thus proved the saviour of the Bhāṣhyic lore, and the authorities of the Tirunārāyaṇapuram temple itself shewed a true grasp of the situation by paying Dēśika the special honours of the saviour and the God's apostle. In the ardour of their gratitude, the disciples of the saint resolved to perpetuate his services by the composition of certain verses which, they declared, were to be recited as a preliminary to all religious studies. Thus it was that the celebrated verses² beginning with *Ramanujadaṣāṣṭam* and with

¹ It was this obscurity that made Tonnūr so poor epigraphically after Ballala II. "It is perhaps worthy of note that there are no Hoysala inscriptions at Tonnur of a later period than that of Ballala II nor are there any of the Vijayanagar period though many of them are found at Melkote, only ten miles distant from the place" (*Mys. Ep. Rep.* 1908, p. 11).

These are

रामानुज दयागत्रं ज्ञानवैराग्य भूषण ।

श्रीमद्वेङ्कट नाथार्यं वन्दे वेदान्त देशिकं ॥

(by Brahmatantra Sātantra)

श्रीमान् वेङ्कट नाथार्यः कवितार्किक केसरी ।

वेदान्ताचार्यं वयोमे सन्निधत्तां सदादि ॥

(by Namār)

The date of their first utterance together was K 4440, Bahudhūya Āvapi Śukladvitiya, Hasta, corresponding to Tuesday, Aug. 18. A. D. 1338, i.e., 11 years after Dēśika's departure from Srīraṅgam.

Śrīmān-Vēṅkatanāthārya came into existence ; and even to-day every Śrī-Vaiṣṇava student of the Bhāṣhyas, whether he is a professor of the traditional or the Prabandhic school, has to repeat the latter verse and then only begin his studies, while every reader of the *Blagavadviśaya*, who belongs to the orthodox school, utters the first and then proceeds with his work.

After staying for a few years at Tirunārāyaṇapuram, Vēṅkatanātha returned to Satyamangalam—say about 1335. Here he appears to have lived for more than 20 years, brooding over the loss of the religious freedom of his countrymen, but never losing his confidence either in the strength of the faith to which he had consecrated his life or the sympathy of his flock. It is highly probable that it is to this period we should assign the generous and noble invitation which Vidyāranya, the great Advaitic sage, who founded the city of Vidyānagar in 1336 and laid the basis of its greatness, is said to have extended to his Vaiṣṇavite rival. But Dēśika refused to avail himself of the invitation on the ground that his sacred calling should not be disturbed by too much contact with the world, its charms and temptations, its pomps and vanities. To the active and ambitious mind of Vidyāranya, work in the field of religion alone was not enough to satisfy. He therefore added to his religious undertakings others of a political nature, and boldly played the part of a statesman¹ and empire-builder. But to the calm and meek temperament of Venkatanātha, the din and strife of political life was an object of contempt and repulsion. Accordingly he did not identify himself with the interest of any kings or dynasties. He shunned politics and the intrigues and pageantry of court life. That is the reason why his name has not commanded so much attention and admiration from the world as that of Vidyāranya.

Vēṅkatanātha's heart more and more yearned for his Ranganātha. His long exile at Satyamangalam was never free from the shadow of his sorrow at the desolation of Śrīrangam and the cessation of worship there. To see himself an exile, his followers scattered and persecuted, as all other Hindus were, by the Mussalman chieftains, and the image of Ranganātha compelled to find refuge in the north,—all this made those years of his long career which Vēṅkatanātha spent here perhaps more full than any others of recurring grief. It was on one of these occasions of sorrow that he wrote the *Abhīstava* in which he prays to the God of his heart to put an end to the sufferings of the people, and restore the prosperity and greatness of Śrīrangam.

¹ For an excellent epigraph showing the teacher's combination of political and literary activities, see *Mys Ep Rep*, 1908, p. 18-19

Dēśika's voice, as his followers are proud to relate, was heard.

Goppanrnyā's
restoration of po-
litical and religi-
ous freedom.

The persecution of the Mahomedans was soon punished by Bukka, the capable king of Vidyānagar. Two lieutenants of his, Kampana Udayār¹ and Goppanārya, deprived the Mahomedan chieftains of their chieftdom, and replaced their doubtful and precarious rule by the comparatively efficient and regular government of Vidyānagar (1361-5). The period of bloodshed and oppression ceased, and the people, victims of bigotry for half a century, enjoyed once again the benefits of political and religious freedom. Many hundreds of temples were rebuilt, and Hinduism received from the Emperor of Vidyānagar a powerful support. Goppanārya was, as his name implies, an orthodox champion of Vaiṣṇavism, and his zeal resulted in the restoration of the idol of Ranganātha from Tirupatī to Śrīrangam. The actual date of the restoration is unknown, but it can be inferred that, as the conquest of the South was complete by the year 1365, the event must have taken place about that year.

When Vēdānta Dēśika received this news, he returned to the scene of his past labours and once again resumed his teaching and disputations. Already more than ninety years of age, he spent the remaining few

¹ See *Ifig Ind.* Vol VI p 324. Kampana Udayār was accompanied by Virupakṣa. They established the authority of Vidyānagar in South Arcot, Madurai and Trichinopoly about 1365. See Swell's *Forgotten Empires* pp 27 the *Tritripoli Gazetteer* p 48. *Ind. Antq.* 1914 (January) and authorities given there.

² The restoration of the image to the temple is recorded in an inscription on the eastern wall in two slokas. According to this the date is 1371-2. It has been maintained that Vēdānta Dēśika composed the verses. If this were the case, he must have died after 1371-2. But the *Guruparampara* says that he died in the month of Kārtika of the year Saumya corresponding to November 1369. All other traditions also agree in that Dēśika died in 1369. We have therefore to take it that the restoration must have taken place before 1369 and that the date 1371-2 is an anachronism. It is not improbable that the inscription was carved years after the actual consecration of the image. Mr T. Rajagopalachariya rejects the date 1371-2 on the following grounds: (1) that it is inconsistent with the date Saumya and Kārtika mentioned in the *Guruparampara*; (2) that the inscription itself is suspicious as it contains only two verses of identical meaning with a date in chronogram prefixed to them—a purposeless repetition—and does not contain the full commencement usual in inscriptions, expressing the cyclic year, month and day; (3) that the date Saka 1293 given by *Kōlōlugu* is only a reproduction of the purport of these inscriptions and therefore is not quite authoritative; (4) that there is an inconsistency in the account of the *Kōlōlugu* itself in calling Saka 1293 by the name of Paritapi which really corresponds to Saka 1294 expired, and that (5) the *Jatindraprasanna-Vaibhācam* says that the restoration took place in the year *Bahupriya*—a chronogram for Saka 1283 i.e. 1301—and not *Bandhupriya* or Saka 1293. The latter however commits an inconsistency in saying that that year is Paritapi. We see thus a most confused medley of dates, all of which are inconsistent. The only conclusion, necessarily tentative we can arrive at is that the restoration took place between 1361 and 1369 and that Dēśika died about 1369. V. G. 1913 gives K. 4450, Śaṛādhara (1349 A.D.) as the date, but it is too early. See p 152. The 1871 Edn. does not give this date.

years of his life in unclouded felicity. He had the satisfaction of seeing his labours attended with success, the members of his flock increasing in thousands, and the principles of Viśiṣṭādvaitism spreading with rapidity into every nook and corner of the country. Active and industrious to the last, he composed at this advanced age the well-known *Rahasyatrayasāra*,¹ one of the most famous of his writings, in which he elaborated the doctrine of self-surrender. An idea of the extraordinary energy of this remarkable saint can be gained from the fact that, besides writing the above and teaching his followers, he found time to repair, with the aid of Goppanārya, the Gōvindarāja temple of Chidambaram² which must have also had a share in the calamities of Mussalman domination. The jealous and exasperated Advaitins retaliated by raising a new controversy at Śrīraṅgam and by challenging the right of the Ālvārs to the position of spiritual leaders and of the inclusion of their prabandams in the holy recitations before the deity. They asserted, with the support of the Śaivite General³ who, we are informed, succeeded Goppaṇa, that the Tiruvadhyaṇa festival could not be performed at Śrīraṅgam unless and until the divinity of the Ālvārs was rationally proved. A disputation in the presence of the chief was accordingly held and Deśika proved victorious over his opponents. The latter had taken refuge under black art; but the erudite faith of the saint was more than equal to their magic, and they were eventually not only desirous of acknowledging their defeat, but inducing their royal ally to issue an edict to the effect that, in future, the holding of a spiritual disputation should not be made an obstacle to the conduct of the usual festivals. Worship, in other words, was to be carried on irrespective of new challenges and new discussions, and the wranglings of scholars should not lead to cessation of ordinary worship.

It was a service for which all the people of Śrīraṅgam were grateful, and even the voice of opposition was silent in the payment of tribute. The authorities and priests of the temple recognized it and added to the Deśika's cult and image.

¹ The *Viśōdhaṇarīhāra*, written by Deśika's son *Varadāchārya*, clears the doubts and difficulties one meets in the *Rahasyatrayasāra*. See Prof. Rangacharya's *Des. Catal. Sans. Mss.* Vol. XI, p. 4159. There is a commentary on the Sanskrit stanzas of the work by Varadakavi, a disciple of Śrinivasārya, son of Varadāchārya of Ātrēya gōtra. (*Ibid* p. 4023). It is known as *Kāvīkadarṇanah*. A commentary on the Tamil stanzas of the treatise, called *Rahasyatrayagāthārtha varṇanam* by Śrinivāsa of Bhāradvāja gōtra is noticed in *Ibid*, p. 4137.

² The *Guruparampara* (V.G.) seems to imply that Deśika had to act against the people of Chidambaram itself and not the Mahomedans, at Chidambaram, and that Gōvindarāja's shrine was first dedicated. See V. G. 1913, p. 154.

³ It is very difficult to say from epigraphical evidences who this General was.

privileges and honours they had hitherto given to the saint by authorising the recitation of the *pātrams* and benedictory verses of the Āchārya even in temples and in homes. A marked development in the apotheosis of Deśika was thus projected, and people realised that the cult of Rāmanuja included the cult of Deśika also. An incident which took place, some time after, led to another stage in the progress of the Deśika cult. A sculptor who professed Advaitism wanted to disprove the Āchārya's title by making him acknowledge his ignorance of sculpture. Approaching Deśika, therefore, he asked him to carve an image of himself. Informed by a vision of the Lord himself to cast an image with a gnanamudra in his right arm and the *Śrīkōṣa* in the left, Deśika, with a confidence which would do credit to the professional expert, performed the operations in the presence of the proud craftsman and excited the admiration of all by his wonderful skill. The story goes that the craftsman himself cast the pedestal, and when he tried to scrape off some portion of the Āchārya's image on the ground that it was too shiny, he saw, to his surprise, blood flowing out. The artist became at once a convert, and Deśika perpetuated the memory of the occasion by composing his *Śilpārthasdra*.¹

It was soon after this incident that Vēṅkaṭanātha died. On the full moon day of Krittika, in year Saumya, corresponding to 14th November 1369² he received, His death. we are told, the divine mandate, and promptly departed the world where he had figured so long and achieved so much. To Śrīraṅgam and to the Vaiṣṇava world in general it was indeed a day of sorrow; but to Deśika it seemed an occasion of every day phenomenon. With his heart fixed on the Lord of his heart, with his lips uttering His praises, his ears enraptured by the recitations of the Tiruvāymoḷi and the Upanishads, his head on Nainār's lap and his feet on Brahmaṭantra-Svatantra Jiyar's, the great teacher passed away from his humble and unpretentious house in the northern street of the holy city to the world of eternal sleep. Born as he was in 1269, he had just passed his 100th year when he left this world.

Such was the life and mission of this great saint, seer and scholar, whose name is venerated so much among the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas. The most eloquent testimony to his greatness is the fact that, when the daily puja is performed in their homes, they invoke his blessing, and pray that he may be with them and shed his wholesome influence on their character for "a century more." And as this prayer is repeated

¹ This work seems to be extinct.

² According to Mr. Swamikanau Pillai. It was a Wednesday.

every day, the suppliant of heaven is indirectly praying for his eternal presence. Every ceremony in Vaishnavite homes, moreover, is commenced only after a preliminary panegyric on the sage, and in the list of those who receive holy offerings at marriages and on other sacred occasions, his name is joined to that of his God.¹ In fact there is no important Vaishnavite temple in South India, which does not contain an idol of Vēṅkatanātha. Temples belonging to the Vadagalai sect necessarily have his image, while in those that belong to the Tēngalais, who do not acknowledge him as their Prabandhic Āchārya, he has been assigned a position side by side with Manavāḷa Mahā Muni. And as this recognition is accompanied with the claim, in some cases, to fix their own caste marks on that portion of the temple which is dedicated to Deśika, it has resulted in an endless quarrel between the two parties, the keenness and the animosity of which time has only helped to increase. To the historian of South Indian religions he will always appear as one of those great leaders whose personality and industry were such as to move the world, the world in which they lived and the world of the future. In Deśika's case in particular the monuments of his greatness and his labours, his extraordinary power of rousing the devotional spirit in man and of man's homage to spirituality, are endless. Wherever he goes from Tirupati to Madurai, and from Mysore to the coast, the antiquarian finds some relic or other which serves to keep the memory of the great saint green in the minds of his followers and worshippers. *Here* is a well which his masonic skill constructed to demonstrate his knowledge of the artisan's work, *there* is the humble, obscure and unpretentious house in which he lived his eventful life. At one place can be seen the spot where he paid his worship to Hayagrīva and obtained, as traditions say, the divine and all-knowing wisdom; at another can be seen the maṇḍapa where he lectured to thousands of admiring scholars and where he hushed to peace scores of noisy controversialists. At every step of Śrīraṅgam and Conjeevaram, of Satyamaṅgalam and Tiruvaindrapuram, thus, the memory of his life lingers, and a grateful and increasing posterity has scrupulously preserved and cherished it. But superior to all these monuments is his literary bequeathal to the world. The numerous literary writings with which he flooded the world during a life of singularly strenuous activity, not to speak of the writings which

¹ No better example exists in history of an apotheosis, complete and thoroughgoing. In the devotion of people to Deśika they have become exceedingly fanatical. The village of Tiruvahindrapuram, especially, is the scene of splendid festivals celebrated in his honour, and therefore of feuds between the Vadagalai and Tēngalai factions. An idea of the irreconcilable nature of these party quarrels can be gained by the history of the dispute between them,—a dispute going on ever since 1760, one phase of which "is at this moment up before the Privy Council for adjudication." For a short summary of it, see *South Arcot Gazetteer*, p. 224-5.

have arisen about him, are enough memorials of his existence¹ To the Sanskrit and the Tamilian, to the student of classicism and of popular dialects, to the lover of poetry and to the philosopher, to the romantic mind and the spiritual aspirant, to saints and scholars, to men and women, he affords, and will afford consolation But this intellectual brilliancy, this marvellous versatility of mental achievements, & nothing by the side of the saintly simplicity and the divine purity of his life Scholar as he was, poet, dramatist and philosopher as he was, he was first and foremost a servant of God, and his service to God was, by its purity and its example, the greatest possible service to man In his love of the Lord he refused to see enemies in his lovers, deluded and ungrateful as they sometimes were, and the very shoes, which their meanness hung at the threshold of his humble home for harming him, were made by him, the passports of his spiritual elevation It was this wonderful combination of sunliness and scholarship, of devotional fervour and of intellectual vigour, that made Deśika an idol of his following, a terror to his enemies, an object of admiration to both Herein lies the explanation of that singular fact that the greatest of Advaitic writers of the middle ages befriended him and that another Advaitic writer of a later age but of equal eminence celebrated, as a commentator, his literary greatness Herein lies also the explanation of the fact that the best biographies of his life are by men who belonged to the Prabhākara party What greater homage is needed to shew the greatness of the saint, the remarkable magnetism of his personality? Of all tributes and homages, the tributes and homages of rivals and enemies are the most valuable and it is to the eternal credit of Vāṅkatamūtha that he won them Indeed in the history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism he occupies, as impartial historic judgment will decidedly pronounce, a place second only to Rāmānuja

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¹ For a few works on the great teacher see Prof. Rangachari's *Deśika Catalogue Sanscrit*, Vol. XI, e.g. the *Ichharyadandaka* by Venkatesa in Dandaka meter each quarter of which consists of 7 syllabic grāhas the *Abdamālikastotra* by Śrī Mahacharya a poem of 60 stanzas each stanza containing the name of a cyclic year the *Āchāryapanchasat* of Venkatadhvarin the *Āthūri nimsati* by Annacharya the *Ācharyashtakam* the *Tarahasavalih* a panegyric poem in 17 stanzas each containing the name of a stellar constellation by Jagannatha the *Vedāntadeśikagadyam* by Venkatesa the *Vedānta-deśika-imacharya* by Śrī Bhaṣhyam Srinivasacharya the *Vedāntadeśikaprapatti*, the *Vedāntadeśikamangalasanam* etc. besides the works I have referred to in the course of this dissertation

**ART XIII.—*Anquetil Du Perron of Paris—India as seen
by him (1755-60).***

By

SHAMS-UL-ULMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D.

Read on 10th December 1915

I.

The name of Anquetil Du Perron is well known to students of the ancient Iranian literature, as it was he who first drew the attention of European scholars to the Avesta and Pahlavi writings of the ancient Persians, the ancestors of the modern Parsees, his attention being drawn in Paris in 1754 A.D. to a few facsimile leaves of the Avesta writings which then nobody in Europe understood. He came to India in August 1755. Having travelled for nearly two years in several parts of India, he went to Surat, the then head-quarters of the Parsees, stayed there for about three years and studied the Parsee scriptures under Dastur Darab, a learned high priest of Surat. Then, on returning to his country, he published in 1771, in two volumes—the first, of two parts and the second, of one part—his book of *Zend-Avesta*, containing, among other things, the French translation of the ancient Parsee scriptures. His was the first translation of the Avesta in any European language. Sir William Jones, the famous founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, ran down Anquetil and his work. The late Professor Darmesteter thus describes the then controversy: “A violent dispute broke out at once, as half the learned world denied the authenticity of the Avesta, which it pronounced a forgery. It was the future founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, William Jones, a young Oxonian then, who opened the war. He had been wounded to the quick by the scornful tone adopted by Anquetil towards Hyde and a few other English scholars: the *Zend-Avesta* suffered for the fault of the introducer, Zoroaster for Anquetil’s.”¹ The translation of Anquetil was to a certain extent responsible for the doubts thrown upon its authenticity, because, though it did him all credit as the result of studies in an unexplored field, yet it was crude. However, Kleuker and other scholars later on defended Anquetil, and now the learned world has accepted the *Zend-Avesta* as genuine.

The subject of this paper has been off and on before my mind for nearly 20 years. As I have said more than once, the study of the

subjects of some of my papers, both before this Society and the Anthropological, was undertaken to reply to some inquiries by Mademoiselle D. Menant, the learned authoress of "Les Parsis," who has, as it were, inherited her fondness for the study of Parseeism from her father, the late M. Joachim Menant, member of the Institute of France. It was in 1896, that she suggested to me an inquiry into the subject of Anquetil's relations with his Parsee teacher Dastur Darab, her first inquiry being, whether the family of Darab at Surat had any papers or notes relating to his relations with Anquetil. In her letter, dated 28th November 1895, she wrote: "J'aurai aussi un vif désir d'avoir quelques détails sur Darab l'ami d'Anquetil; il est impossible que, d'après les Vahis¹ vous ne puissiez obtenir les renseignements qui permettent de donner à Darab une réalité complète. Pouvez vous me fournir sur Darab quelque chose de plus précis?"² In another letter,³ she wrote, "J'avais toujours beaucoup médité sur cette visite au Derimeher. Il y'avait certain choses qui ne me semblaient pas concorder"⁴.

To reply to her questions, I had looked into the whole question. One of the subjects, that suggested itself to me during my inquiries, was that of Anquetil's above referred to visit to a Darimeher or a Parsee Fire-temple, which, as alleged by him, he entered in the disguise of a Parsee, with the clandestine help of his teacher Dastur Darab. The statement on its very face appeared doubtful to me, as it was full of improbabilities and contradictions. I then put in an appeal in the *Jam-i-Jamshed* of Bombay, in one of its issues of 1896, asking for some papers, notes or information on the subject, from the members of the family and others at Surat. I could get no information from the family of Dastur Darab, as all the books and papers of the family were burnt with their house and their fire-temple in the great fire of Surat on 24th April 1837.

I lately studied the question again in all its details. Before studying the question of the relations subsisting between Anquetil and Dastur Darab, I thought it advisable to study the man himself, i.e., to know the life of Anquetil. I tried to know something of

¹ *Vahis* are the family documents in which they note the principal events in the family.

² i. e. "I have great desire to have some details over Darab, the friend of Anquetil. It is impossible that, you cannot obtain from the Vahis, some information which gives to Darab a complete reality. Can you furnish me something more precise about Darab?"

³ Letter, dated "Paris, 12 Jun 1896, (68 rue Madame)"

⁴ "I have always thought much over this visit to the Derimeher. There are certain things which do not appear to me to agree."

his Indian life, his habits and characteristics from his own writings, his own narration of his tour in India. This paper is the result of the notes taken during this study. I give it here in the hope, that it may also interest those who like to know something of India, as seen by a French traveller, about 150 years ago.

Division of the subject. The whole subject, as studied by me, can be divided into three parts:—

1. An account of Anquetil's life, especially of his visit to India as given by himself in the first volume of his *Zend-Avesta*.
2. An account of his teacher Dastur Darab.
3. An examination of his statements about Dastur Darab, especially his statement about his clandestine visit to the fire-temple in the disguise of a Parsee and under the guidance of Dastur Darab.

I will speak in this paper about the first part of the subject, *viz.*, an account of Anquetil's life, especially of his visit to India. I will speak of the other two parts in a subsequent paper.

Our account of Anquetil can be divided into three parts:—

- (A) His early life before his visit to India.
- (B) His life in, and his account of, India.
- (C) His life after his return to Europe.

We have to speak principally on the second part, *viz.*, his life in India and his account of this country. But, before speaking of this, we will cast a bird's eye-view on his early life in Europe, mostly as given by him in his first volume of the *Zend-Avesta*.

II.

(A) ANQUETIL DU PERRON'S EARLY LIFE.

I have come across no book giving any detailed account of his life. In Pierre Larousse's "*Grand Dictionnaire Universelle du XIX^e Siècle*," we have a very short account of his life. We learn a good deal about him from his "*Discours Préliminaire*" in his own work "*Zend-Avesta*."¹ A portion of this discourse has been translated into English by the late Ervad Kavasji Edalji Kanga.*

¹ *Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, Tome Premier, Première Partie.*

* Translation of extracts from the *Zend-Avesta of Anquetil Du Perron*, by Kavasji Kanga.

Some particulars can be had from a notice of his work taken by M. Dacier on the occasion of his death.¹ This publication is not available to us here, but we find it referred to, here and there, by Mademoiselle D. Menant, in her "Anquetil Du Perron à Surate" published about 8 years ago. Mr. G. K. Nariman has given us a summary in English of Mademoiselle's brochure.² We find some particular of his life in the *Calcutta Review*³ of October 1896, in an interesting article entitled "Anquetil Du Perron," by Mr. H. Beveridge. There is also a very short account of his work in the 29th volume of the same journal⁴ from the pen of Dr. George Smith. Besides these, we have stray references to him in the works of Burnouf, Darmesteter, Hovelocque, Menant and Brown.

Abraham Anquetil Du Perron was born in Paris on 7th December 1731. His elder brother Louis Pierre (1723-1806) was known in France as a historian. His younger brother, Anquetil de Briancourt, was the chief of the French factory at Surat for some years when Anquetil was at Surat.

Anquetil took some University education and studied Hebrew, the knowledge of which was held to be necessary for the study of religion. He subsequently found, that a study of Arabic and Persian was necessary for a study of Hebrew. Auxerre (the ancient Aulissiodurum) in France was well-known in his time for its old church and for its seminary for religious learning. M. De Caylus,⁵ who was the bishop of that place, called Anquetil to his town to study at the seminary.

From Auxerre, he went to Amersfoot in the province of Utrecht in Holland for further education, as it was a seat of theological learning. There, he studied Arabic together with Hebrew. While studying Arabic, he studied a little of Persian also, the knowledge of which proved to

¹ Notice de M. Dacier lue à la séance publique de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, le Mardi 19 Juillet 1808.

² This was published in the columns of the "Parsee, as weekly Sunday contributions, commencing from 20th October 1911.

Calcutta Review, No. 206, October 1896 pp. 284-305.

³ *Calcutta Review* of December 1897 Vol. XXIX, No. LVIII, pp. 229-79, Article "India and Comparative Philology," vide pp. 244-46 for Anquetil.

⁴ "Anquetil Du Perron à Surate" par Mademoiselle Menant, pp. 4-5.

Anquetil in his Discourse in his book of the Zend-Avesta, more than once refers to him. He speaks of him (M. le Comte de Caylus) and of M. Lamoignon de Malesherbes as his patrons (protecteurs, Zend-Avesta, Tome I., Partie I., p. 316). He also speaks of having presented to M. de Caylus an idol which he had taken away from the temple of Djeguesen (Jogeshi, near Andheri, *Ibid.*, p. 390n). Anquetil remembers the above two gentlemen with gratitude in his account of his Indian travels for their having presented him with a telescope. He regrets, that he could not make use of it in a great Solar Eclipse on 30th December 1758 (*Ibid.*, p. 316).

him to be of great use, later on, as an intermediary language for his study of Avesta and Pahlavi before Dastur Darab at Surat. It was on the recommendation of M. le Comte de Caylus that he had gone to Utrecht for the further study of theology.¹

On finishing his course at the above institution in Utrecht, under M. Le Gros and M. l'Abbé D'Fémaré,² he hesitated as to what line to take up for the future, whether to join the department of the Consulates or that of the Missions. His studies had fitted him for both. It is said, that he was "destined at first for the Church."³ The deeper knowledge of Hebrew and the theological education had well fitted him for the Mission of the Church, and his knowledge of Arabic and Persian had well prepared him for the Consulates. He himself was inclined at first for the Church. When ill at one time, at Chandarnagar in India, he remembered with fondness the quiet hours of study he had passed in theological studies at Rhynwech in Amersfoot in Holland, and was inclined to give up his travels and pursuit of Zoroastrianism in order to join the Jesuits in Bengal.⁴

Having finished his studies at Utrecht in Holland, he went to Paris and continued his studies at the Bibliothèque du Roi, where he drew the attention of its librarian L'Abbé Sallier. This led to his being recommended for help and encouragement to several learned men, among whom one was M. De Caylus, who had, as said above, already begun taking some interest in his studies. These literary men procured for Anquetil some help from a fund attached to the Bibliothèque for further Oriental studies.

Anquetil says, that at first, it struck him, that the modern customs and usages of Asia had their origin in the people who had conquered the Continent and in their religions; and so, he proposed studying in their original, the ancient theology of the nations on the East of the Euphrates and consulting their original books for their history. This thought led his mind (a) to India, with its Sanskrit and its Vedas, and

¹ The fact of M. Taillefer, the head of the Dutch factory at Surat, being very kind to him when he was there and of his helping him much, was perhaps, due to a sympathetic appreciation of Anquetil's study at his mother-country of Holland.

² Anquetil's *Zend-Avesta*, Tome I, Part I p. 39

³ "Calcutta Review," No. LVIII, December 1857, p. 244

⁴ Tome I, Part I, p. 39.

⁵ Vol. I, Part I, p. 3

(b) to Persia with its Zend-Avesta. Of these two, Persia with its Zend-Avesta appealed to him more, because, besides the fact, that the country and its religion were interesting in themselves, its people had, at one time or another, some relations with the ancient Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, Indians, and the Chinese. He refers to Dr. Hyde's learned work "*Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*," the first edition of which was published in 1700 A. D. and the second in 1760, and very properly says, that it was a first attempt of its kind, based, not on the older original Zend-Avesta, but upon later books like the Farhang-i Jehangiri, Persian Viraf-nâmeh and Sad-dar. Though this work was very useful to scholars, he thought the best way was to consult the Persians themselves on the subject of their religion. "India presents for study a large number of these people established there since 900 years in Guzarat. They are scattered all along the North from the coast of Malabar, where the taste for commerce and industry, which characterises them, has led to large settlements. They are known in India as Parsis."¹

In 1718, "Mr. George Bourcher, a merchant in Surat," procured from the Parsees at Surat a copy of the Vendidad Bouchier's MS. Sadeh. His name is variously given. In the catalogue of the Bodleian library, where the MS. was latterly deposited, as said there, by Richard Cobbe in 1723, it is given as George Bourcher.² Dr. Gerson da Cunha, in his *Origin of Bombay*,³ refers to him as George Bouchier and speaks of him as an officer of the Company. Anquetil speaks of him as George Bouchier⁴. This was the first Avesta book that was taken to Europe from India or Persia, and nobody there could read it, far less understand it. It was a novelty at the Bodleian, and as such was secured and hung there with an iron chain. It was deposited there with the following curious note of description. "*Leges sacræ ritus et liturgia Zoroastre. . . scripsit hunc librum Tched Divdadj filius,*" i.e., "Sacred laws, rites and liturgy of Zoroaster . . . - Tched, son of Divdad, wrote this book." I call this note curious, because the ignorance about Parsee scriptures in those times in England was so great that the name of the book was taken to be that of the author.⁵

¹ Ibid, p. 5.

² For an account of this MS., vide Catalogue of the Persiana, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, by Dr. Ed. Sachau and Dr. Hermann Etdé (1889), Column 1106, Ms. No. 1935.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Journal B. B. R. A. S., Extra Number 1900, p. 288

⁵ Tome I., Part I., p. 5.

⁶ For Jud-div-dâd. Another form is Jud-Shaidâ-dâd.

⁷ Anquetil's Zead-Avesta I., Part I., pp. 458-59.

ANQUETIL DU FERRON 'OF PARI

The colophon of this manuscript of Bouchier¹ which runs as follows, gives its date, as *roz* 25, *maḥ* 7, year 1050, *yazd*, i.e., 1681 A. D. :—

[illegible]

A few years after Boucher, Mr. Frazer, a Scotchman, who was a Councillor of Bombay, carried to England some Zoroastrian manuscripts. He had gone specially to Surat, the then headquarters of the Parsees, to purchase these manuscripts. According to Anquetil,² he purchased two manuscripts of the Yaçna and the Yashts and a number of Persian and Indian (Hindu) manuscripts. Anquetil says on the authority of Dastur Darab, that Frazer had purchased these manuscripts together with a Revayet for Rs. 500, from Mr. Manockjee Sett, an ancestor of the Sett family of Bombay. Manockjee Sett had procured them from Dastur Bhicajee.³

Though, as said above, some Zoroastrian Avesta-Pahlavi manuscripts had been taken to Europe before Anquetil's time, no body could read them, much less understand them. Some Oriental scholars in Europe knew Persian, and so they rested only on some Persian manuscripts for their information. Dr. Hyde's abovementioned book, itself based on Persian works, was the principal source of information for most of the scholars. M. Freret had presented a picture of the Parsee religion which was based only on the Persian Sad-dar. M. Foucher, a learned abbot, had written a history⁴ of the religion of the ancient Persians, but he had based it on the authority of the Classical writers and of Dr. Hyde whose source of information was Persian books.

In 1754, Anquetil Du Perron, first thought of visiting India and studying the Parsee scriptures. A few fac-simile pages, traced from the abovementioned Vendidad manuscript of Boucher in the Bodleian, were sent from England to M. Etienne Fourmont of Paris. This scholar lent them to his relation and pupil M. Leroux Deschamps.

¹ 'Die Traditionelle Litteratur der Parsen, by Dr Spiegel, p 10 Anquetil Du Perron, Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie II., p 3

⁴ Tome I, Partie I, p. 5.

¹ Tome I. Partie II. Notices p. IX, *vide* also my account of Dastur Darab.

* Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres 1753-57, Second Partie. Mémoires de Littérature, pp. 353 *et seq.*

terayes, who was an Orientalist, especially in the line of the Chinese literature. Anquetil saw these few pages at the house of M. Deschauterayes and at once thought of learning the language in which they were written. He says. " Sur le champ je résolus d'enrichir ma patrie de ce singulier ouvrage."¹ He thought that thus, greater light can be thrown on Oriental antiquities than by the vain attempts hitherto made on the authority of Greek and Latin writers.

Then the question was : Where to go for the study of the language of the few Avesta pages that he saw ? to Persia or to India ? After some consideration, he preferred India, where he thought, he could also have an opportunity to study the Vedas. Some of his learned friends approved of his idea and gave him hopes for procuring assistance from the French Minister and the French Company which traded with India. But negotiations with them must necessarily take a long time, and were not sure of success. So, he grew a little impatient. Again, he thought, that in case he failed in India and did not do well in his desired object of study, he would be liable to reproach from the State and the Company that helped him. He also did not feel justified to be a burden in this matter over the resources of his family which was not rich. So, under all the circumstances, he resolved to join as a soldier, a company of recruits who were going to India to serve in the army of the French trading company. The recruiting officer, on learning his final aim, dissuaded him from joining, but, at last, entered his name in his register, promising not to disclose the fact to any body till after his departure. A day before his departure, he took into his confidence his younger brother, who, later on, followed him to India, and who gradually rising, became the chief of the French factory at Surat. He left Paris on 7th November 1754, having as his equipment, two chemises or shirts, two handkerchiefs and one pair of stockings. He had also with him a box of mathematical instruments, a Hebrew Bible and two other books. He arrived at the town of L'Orient in the Bay of Biscay on 16th November.

During these days of march as a soldier, he got wearied of the soldierly life, and so, it was fortunate, that by the end of this time, on arriving at the above town, he heard the good news, that he was relieved from the turmoil of the life of a soldier. His learned patron-friends, had, by this time, succeeded in prevailing upon the authorities, that he may be given an annuity of 500 francs from the King during the time he was in India for study. He was given a free passage to travel to India and was given the privilege of dining

¹ *Ibid.*, p 6

with the captain. He finally left France at Port Louis on 24th February 1755, in the ship *Le Duc d'Aquitaine*.

III.

(B) ANQUETIL IN INDIA. PONDICHERRY AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.

After a voyage of five months and a half, full of sea-sickness and of other illness caught from an infectious disease, brought on the ship by some soldier-prisoners, Anquetil landed at Pondicherry at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 10th of August 1755. On the *Bunder*, he was met by M. De Leyrit, the Governor-General of the French Establishment in India, on whom he had brought a letter of recommendation, but was not well received. M. De Goupil, Commander of the French troops, received him well and helped him. His arrival and the object of his visit to India had, as he says, made a stir (*firmit quelque bruit*) in the country where people generally came from Europe with a view to make money. They did not think much of his object of visit or of his bona-fides.¹ Anquetil's first anxiety was to have a fixed revenue (*un revenu fixe*). He represented to M. De Leyrit, the Governor, that if that matter was not attended to, he was determined to return to Europe by the very boat which had brought him to India. This seems to have had the desired effect and his stipend or salary was fixed at Rs. 65 per month or Rs. 780 per year, which corresponded to 1,905 French livres² per year. He continued to get this stipend up to 1760, when it was raised to Rs. 100 per month, because, as he says, he had to pay the *Parsee Dasturs* (*a cause des Destours Parsees que j'étois obligé de payer*) and to spend in travelling over the country. Anquetil had to do no active service while in the country, except in the case of a declaration of war.

Anquetil began his Indian studies by visiting various places of Indian worship in and about Pondicherry on the Malabar Coast and by learning the Malabari language. But, he says, he found this kind of life like that of throwing himself in 20 roads instead of following one road which would lead him to the object for which he had come. He then began the study of Persian which he found was more commonly spoken in Asia. He regretted the few months he had passed in Pondicherry in pleasure. The life there was such as would not lead one to take a serious view

¹ *Zend Avesta* I, P. 1, P. XXIV.

² *Ibid.*, p. XXV

³ A French livre, as referred to by Anquetil, seems to be equal to one shilling

of life and business. One can form an idea of the want of seriousness, attached to business by the first comers from Europe in those early days, from the statement of Anquetil that "a ball or a party of pleasure delayed the landing or the departure of a ship or the bargain of a million."¹

IV.

ANQUETIL IN BENGAL.

Well nigh disgusted with this state of affairs at Pondicherry, he left the city at the end of January 1756. After travelling over some adjoining places, he embarked for Bengal on the 1st of April 1756. He arrived at Chandarnagar on 22nd April, much weakened with fever. Anquetil's account of how he was received by the Director of the Factory there and even by some of the Jesuit fathers, throws a side-light of the apathetic life led by some Europeans in those times.

At Chandarnagar, Anquetil prosecuted his study of the Persian language and he translated some Persian books. He does not mention the names of the books. He soon got disgusted with Chandarnagar where he saw no proper means to study Sanskrit. So, he thought of going to Cassimbazar and thence to Benares. At the same time, he wrote a letter to M. Le Verrier, chief of the Company at Surat, sending him two lines written in the Persian language, but in Zend (Avesta) characters. A long illness at Chandarnagar made Anquetil a little wavering in his proposed project. He thought of entering the clerical profession in the company of the Jesuits, but the returning health and strength removed that thought. However, the returning health at least made him feel, that he was leading an useless life at Chandarnagar. Again, Bengal was in a state of excitement. The Nabob was thinking of driving out of the country, the English. His attempt to do so was likely to create a revolution in the country which would derange his literary work. So, he thought of leaving Chandarnagar, but hesitated as to where to go.

At this time, he received a reply from M. Le Verrier from Surat, saying, that the Parsees had read the lines which he had sent to Surat, and said that it was modern Persian in Zend characters. The reply further added, that the Parsee Doctors (Dasturs) had showed him (M. Le Verrier) the books of Zoroaster, more particularly

Visit to Chandarnagar.
News from Surat:
Promise of the
Dasturs to teach.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. XXVII.

the Zend and Pahlavi Vendidad, and that they had promised to explain to him (Anquetil) that work, and to teach him their ancient languages. This good news, says Anquetil, soon restored him to health, and he resolved to go to Surat (*Cette nouvelle me rend toute ma santé et mon départ est résolu*).¹ He refers to one of his weaknesses and adds "They accuse me of unsteadiness (on me taxe de légèreté). Little sensible of this reproach and very happy to be able to break with the seductive relations of which I begin feeling the weight, I put my things on board a vessel. The vessel which carried these things moves down the Ganges. But the news of war between France and England compels it to return and disconcerts my project. What a situation! The books of Zoroaster exist. They are going to give them (and) explain them to me. I am driven asunder from what is very dear to me for the purpose of enriching my country with this treasure."

He now thought to himself that the war between England and France would perhaps make him a prisoner in the hands of the English, and in that event, there was a likelihood of his being sent away to Europe as a prisoner and of being deprived of a visit to Surat.

He now knew, that in view of the action against the English, the latter were marching against Chandanagar and were very close to it. If the Nabob did not come in time to help the French, Chandanagar was sure to fall into the hands of the English. So, he quietly left Chandanagar, on the 9th of March 1757, for Cassimbazar without informing the Director of the French factory of his proposed departure. He, in his own mind, excused the fault of this sudden departure, when his French colony and compatriots were in difficulty, by the thought, that, as he knew Persian, he would be of some use to his country at Cassimbazar by influencing in some way the Nabob to send his help to the French early. He was blamed for this sudden secret departure at the time of the difficulty of his French colony. He says on this subject. "If that (departure) has been the cause of some unhappy misfortunes which have embittered a part of the time which I passed in India, I, on the other hand owe to it (*i.e.*, that departure), the knowledge of the (Indian) Peninsula, and the acquisition and translation of the works of Zoroaster."²

¹ Tome I Partie I p 40.

² *Ibid.* p 41.

³ *Ibid.*

He arrived at Cassimbazar, on 12th March 1757. He went to see the Nabob, Suraja Dowla, at a Darbar, where he had to take off his shoes and to perform the Sidjah, *i.e.*, the salute by raising his hands down from the ground to his head. Anquetil gives a rather long account of his visit to the Darbar. The Officers of the Nabob's army, while saluting in the above way, said : Omer deraz, doulat Zindah bashed, *i.e.*, May you live long and may your good fortune increase.¹

While at Cassimbazar, Anquetil found that the Nawab was not in a mood to send assistance early to the French at Chandarnagar. He heard on the 19th of March 1757, that Chandarnagar was well-nigh surrounded by the English army. He now thought of returning to Chandarnagar and started for it on the 20th. To avoid falling into the hands of the English, he travelled in the disguise of a Mour (Mahomedan) and arrived near Chandarnagar on the 23rd. Chandarnagar had just surrendered to the English. So, he thought of returning to Cassimbazar. Though the river was full of English boats, some native-boatmen, out of humanity, undertook the risk of taking him to Cassimbazar. Anquetil was touched by this act of kindness of the Indians who did not know him.² On the 26th of March, he was on the point of falling into the hands of the English. His boatmen, finding, that he was much anxious to avoid the English, intentionally took him to a village on the bank of the Ganges where there were a number of English boats, with a view to extort more money from him than what he had promised. But he remained firm and threatened to place them in prison in the place where they wanted to take him. This brought them to their senses and they proceeded straight. On his way to Cassimbazar, he met, at Plassey, the army of the Nabob under Doulobram which was being sent to help the French. He was received with politeness in their camp. Doulobram sent him to his Lieutenant Mirmaden, a Mogul, who sent him to his brother who was the commander of the

¹ Anquetil speaks of the salute, paid to the Nabob by firing guns as *callettoques*. What is this word *callettoques*? Mr Beveridge says that it is used for a match-lock and must be a mistake for *maileq* or *mailtoq* which is a Turkish word for a gun. I think, it is Persian Killeh-top. قلعه توپ *i.e.*, the fort gun.

² "Étonné d'avoir trouvé tant d'humanité chez des Indiens qui ne me connoissent pas, qui voyoient le premier de nos E'tablissements détruit, et qui s'exposoient réellement en me rendant service." Tome I., Part. I, p. XLV.

³ This statement of Anquetil contradicts his above statement. He praises their humanity in saving a stranger from the hands of the enemy, and, at the same time, accuses them of an attempt of treachery and extortion under the threat of giving him up to the enemy from whom they had saved him.

Artillery. At dinner, he was offered a drink which he refused, but being pressed to take a little, it being an European drink, he took it, believing it to be brandy and water. In quarter of an hour, he had convulsions from which he recovered with difficulty, and he learnt that the drink was a solution of opium. He arrived at Cassimbazar on 28th March.

Anquetil was then attached to that part of the army of the Nabob, which was commanded by M. Law. He became a favourite with this officer, who, he says, often consulted him. This drew the jealousy of others towards him. They all arrived at Calgan on the 1st of May 1757. The next day (2nd May), a number of the officers of M. Law's army appeared before their chief with Anquetil's memorandum book, and pointing to the notes he was in the habit of taking, accused him of bad intentions, &c. The commander prudently remained silent. The officers insultingly referred to his leaving Chandanagar without permission and molested him in various other ways.

V

RETURN JOURNEY TO PONDICHERRY.

Under these circumstances, Anquetil asked M. Law's permission to leave the camp and to go to Pondicherry. This resolution turned some of his enemies into friends, and they offered a number of things to Anquetil to help him on his way by land to Pondicherry. He had hardly 2 gold rupees (*i.e.*, mohars), in his pocket. M. Carillon quietly put in his pocket 7 gold rupees (mohars) more. He left Cassimbazar on 1st May 1757. On his way, he bought at Rajmahal a small horse for 18 livres (18 sh.) on his way to Murshidabad, he heard that a certain wild elephant had created a panic among the travellers of that district. The smell of this elephant from a distance frightened Anquetil's pony which was a quiet animal. He was thrown to the ground and was hurt. He proceeded further, carrying the animal by the bridle, and saw that the elephant was at last captured by the people. He arrived at Murshidabad which was then considered to be the capital of Bengal, on 5th May, stayed there for 9 days to rest his injured foot and left it on the 15th. At Murshidabad, he was the guest of a Frenchman, M. de Changeac, who was at first in the service of the French Company, but had latterly taken service with the Mahomedan Nabob of Bengal. Anquetil was afraid more of the good services that one did him than of the bad services (*j'ai toujours plus craint les services que les mauvaises*

offices)¹ *i.e.*, he did not like to be under one's obligation. So, he left the house of his host as soon as he was a little better and able to walk well. He started for Ganjam in the company of two peons and an interpreter (dobachi).

In the midst of all the sufferings of the journey Anquetil was, as he says, consoled by three kinds of thoughts.

1. The first was that of the principal object of his visit to India, *vis.*, the books of Zoroaster, for which he was now going to make a search at Surat *via* Pondicherry.

2. The second thought was, that in these journeys, he learnt the manners of the people and formed an idea about them. This knowledge of the people, he expected, would be useful to him in his translation of the Vedas, which was the second work that had brought him to India.

3. The third thought was this, that however superficial his remarks may be, they would give some information about the places he passed through, of which travellers knew nothing but the names.

From Murshidabad, he, at the instance of his host, M. de Changeac, went to Montigil to see Khoda Leti, a young Visit to a Mogul. Mogul (gentilhomme) who had taken the title of Nabob. He represents him as a man of unnatural desires. So, says Anquetil, he had to lay his hands on his pistol and under its threat to withdraw from his company.'

He left Murshidabad on 15th May 1757. He passed through places like Paloua, Basela, Kogaon, Palassi, crossed an arm of the Ganges, went to Tchoogandi, and thence to Katoua. He then went to Nigan, Bordouan (Burdwan), Tchanderkoun, Mednipour (Midnapore), Benopour, Balassor (3rd June 1757), Cuttack (4th June), Jaganath (7th June), and Ganjam (15th June). On the way, he travelled at some places as an Indian. At other places, he passed as a messenger (envoyé) of Captain Law,² the officer in the service of the Nabob of Bengal. At Kotek (Cuttack) he was taken by some to be the Barâ Saheb (the chief) of (the factory of) Cassimbazar. He came across a

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

² The Nabob was at the time of the occurrence in the midst of a large number of Mahomedans (une multitude de Maures), who, he says, would have killed him to pieces. The time, the place and the number of people, in the midst of whom the Nabob expressed his intentions by his eyes (ses yeux m'instruisirent bientôt de ses véritables intentions), create doubts as to the probability of the motive attributed to the Nabob.

³ Je leur déclarai que mon projet étoit de joindre son (*i.e.*, de Bussy) armée, parce que j'avois des choses importantes à lui communiquer de la part du Capitaine Law, que j'avois laissé dans le Bengale, T. I. P. I. p. :LXVI.

tiger who caused a panic among the people round about. Though he had a gun, he thought it advisable not to seek quarrel with him (prudemment je ne jugeai pas à propos de lui chercher querelle).¹

On his way, he fell in the company of two *fakirs*, one of whom was accompanied by a *fakireess* of 18 to 20 years.²

A visit to Jagarnath. Her eyes were always fixed upon Anquetil and several times she even offered to cook his *kicheri*, but he showed no regard for her advances (ces avances). These advances were then made to one of his Alkaras³ and accepted. These and other *fakirs* whom he met were the pilgrims to the temple of Jagrenat (Jagarnath). People from all parts of Asia went to Jagarnath as pilgrims. He saw pilgrims from all parts of India and from Tartary and he even saw some black Christians. All the pilgrims are taxed by the Raja at the rate of two rupees per head at the entrance of the village and are charged half a rupee more for admission into the temple.

Anquetil describes at some length his visit to the town and the temple of Jagarnath in the company of his Alkara (servant). The statue itself of Jagarnath is in a pagoda in an elevated place. Being found out as a non-Hindu, he was not admitted in spite of his offer of money (l'argent que j'offres) to the Brahmins. While there, he heard that the rubies, which formed one of the eyes of the statue, were stolen by the Chief of a small Dutch factory (Chef d'un petit Comptoir Hollandois).⁴ The other eye was formed by a large carbuncle. He describes the chariot, on which the statue is taken round on its annual feast day, which was to occur 12 days after his visit. He says nothing about the origin of the worship of Jagarnath, saying, he had not as yet studied the sacred books of the Hindus. He says: "Similarly in subsequent account, when I would have the occasion to speak of the religion of these people I would rest contented with reporting what I have seen or have heard without passing any judgment. The comparison which I have made of what the voyagers say of the religion and usages of the Parsis, with what is contained in their sacred books, has distinctly convinced me, that, in the study of religious opinions, dogmas and cults, the reading of original books was a necessary preliminary; that that was the only thread which could lead through the labyrinth of a religion like that of the Indians, which is divided into a number of sects and which is spread, since more than 2,000 years, in the largest part of Asia."⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³ Perhaps Persian *halkara*, i.e., messenger, peon.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-87.

He left Jagarnath on 7th June, and arrived at Ganjam, where he was the guest of M. Azam, who was at the head of the French factory there. He had a quiet sleep here after nearly two months. This port was a centre of trade and supplied corn to Pondicherry and to Bengal. It was also the key of the Deccan from the north. Anquetil accompanied here M. Azam to lay the foundation of an embankment on the shore, where a Mahomedan killed a goat to assure the success of the work which in the end was abandoned. Anquetil was still travelling in the pretended roll of a messenger of M. Law to M. de Bussy, in order to secure the help of others. He says: "In spite of my repugnance for sham, I kept on this borrowed character."¹ In spite of this personation, he had some difficulty at a place called Nopara, where, being stopped by a sepoy, he gave him a blow. The Daroga with sword in hand and with 50 soldiers arrested him, saying, he did not know M. de Bussy. He does not give any particulars as to what happened next, but it appears, that, after being detained one night, he was allowed to proceed on his journey.

He arrived on 19th June in the province of Schikakol, where he became the guest for the evening of M. Law, the brother of M. Law of Cassimbazar, and of other French officers who were going to join the army of M. de Bussy, which was at a day's march from that place. Here, he heard for the first time, that his brother had come from France to Pondicherry. This news gave him much courage and he hastened to resume his journey. He went to the place where M. de Bussy's army stayed, and exhausted as he was, "some glasses of good liquor revived his senses and he slept quietly for the rest of the night."

The next day, M. de Bussy, who was informed of the arrival of an envoy from M. Law from Bengal, expected a secret message from him, and when Anquetil went to see him, got two chairs placed in a corner of his tent for private conversation. But Anquetil made a clear confession of his personation as an envoy and left himself at his mercy, pleading his difficulties in Bengal and in the journey, for his conduct. M. de Bussy, though surprised at first at his conduct, regarded the situation with kindness.

He left the French camp, the next day, in company with M. Law who was going to Maslipatam, the emporium of the Deccan,² and the market of trade between Europe and India, which was then also known for its Tchittes (चिठ्ठे) manufactured in the adjoining town of Narzapour. He arrived at Maslipatam on 2nd July 1757.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

² *Ibid.*, p. 97.

Here, M. de Moracin, the commander of the place, helped him with money, and Madame Moracin confirmed the news of his brother's arrival at Pondicherry. Anquetil saw at Maslipatam an Abbot (Abbé), of whom he speaks as one of the leeches (sangsués) who have eaten away the substance of the French Company. He says he found in several places in India, like Pondichery, Chandarnagar . . . Chicacol (Schikakol) and in the army of M. de Bussy, such persons. They were paid highly, but did not study and learn anything. They occupied high positions, incompatible with their professions. Play, Women and Commerce (Le jeu, les femmes et le Commerce) occupied their time.¹

He left Maslipatam in a palanquin on the 18th of July², entered into the district of the Coromandal Coast on 31st July.³ On arriving at Pulikat, a seat of the Dutch factory, he was informed that he could not proceed further, unless a passport arrived from Madras. So, to avoid any delay, he got into a boat known as "Schellingue." As a war was waging between the French and the English at the time, there was the chance of his falling into the hands of the English. He risked that chance. He started on 2nd August. The boatmen were sailing very slow. So, he threatened them with his pistol. When at the distance of two *loos* from Madras, he saw the village of St. Thomé which contains the church of that saint.

He now left the boat and proceeded further by land. The Cotoual (Kotewal, i.e., the Police Superintendent) took him for an Armenian. On proceeding further, under Mahomedan dress, he passed as a Mogul. He arrived at Pondicherry on 10th August 1757, after about three and quarter months' travel from Bengal and met his brother. Both the brothers had an affectionate embrace. M. de Leyrit, the chief of the French factory, had taken that Anquetil was dead.

Here, we find Anquetil again giving an expression of his unsteadiness. The fatigue of the journey from Bengal had created in him a thought to return to Europe. But the sympathetic treatment of him by M. de Leyrit removed that idea and encouraged him to adhere to his thought of going to Surat. Anquetil persuaded M. de Leyrit to appoint his brother, second in command of the French factory at Surat, and to arrange, that, on the retirement of M. de Verrier, the then chief, he may succeed him as the head. M. de Leyrit consented. Both the brothers started for Surat. They left Pondicherry on 27th October 1757.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98² *Ibid.*, p. 99³ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

At first they started for Mahi. (Here finishes the first part of Anquetil's preliminary discourse.)

VI.

JOURNEY TO SURAT.

With the departure for Surat, commences; what he himself calls: Starts for Surat. "the commencement of his literary work (*travaux littéraires*). Anquetil says,¹ that his first two years in India, were years of excursions, dangers, misfortunes, and expedients. He seems to mean that they were wasted, and he attributes the cause to (a) the enchanting pleasures of the colonies, (b) to his youth, fury of passions and to the then condition of French factories. The two months that he passed in quiet in Pondicherry were months of quite reflections, which led his next few years to be years of literary work.

Both the brothers landed at Mahi on 17th November 1757. They had to wait there for some months till they found the opportunity (occasion) to go to Goa or to Surat. Here, Anquetil had some differences with the head of the factory and had to write to M. de Leyrit at Pondicherry to complain about him. He had to wait there for a ship going to the above places. So, he took advantage of this delay and went to see some of the French possessions on that side of the Canara district. He left his brother at Mahi and started for Ramataly in a boat on the 2nd of December 1757. Anquetil, complaining of the governor of Mahi, as being a little rude, says, that the politeness of the governor of Ramataly made up for the rudeness of that of Mahi.²

On his way to Canara, he was detained as a spy. Though the country was not under the French, the people were afraid of the French. A Canarese Christian, who knew Portuguese, helped Anquetil. He, acting as an interpreter, examined the papers of Anquetil and assured the Native State (Dorbar, *i.e.*, Darbar), that the papers he had were on the subject of Astronomy. He was detained there till some satisfactory explanation about his movement came from Neliceram, where messages were sent for inquiries about him. Anquetil went to stay with the Canarese Christian interpreter. There, he, at the end, quarrelled with him for the feeding charges. In the meantime, some information in reply to the inquiries came from Neliceram. In

¹ P. 122.

² P. 126.

consequence of that information, and in consequence of some threat to the effect, that some French troops would soon arrive under the command of his brother, he was allowed to proceed on his journey. He then returned to Nellikera where he met his brother again.¹ After having seen several other places, he returned to Mahi. His brother now left Mahi to go to Goa and thence to Surat.

Anquetil had read something about the Native Christians in the district round about, whose forefathers were first converted by St. Thomas. So, to know something about them, he started for Cochin with a letter of recommendation from the French Resident at Calicut. He started from Mahi on 28th December 1757. According to Anquetil, Calicut was at that time a large city. It was first founded in 825 A. D. Its principal commerce was that of pepper, cardamom, sandal and sesame. It was ruled by the Samarin (Zamorin). Cananore and Cochin at first formed parts of his territory. Its first known king was Scharian Peroumal. Anquetil here gives a long description of the several castes of Cochin.

He arrived on 31st December 1757 at Cochin which was then in the hands of the Dutch. There were two Cochins. **Cochin**
Its Christians. The great Cochin was captured in 1663 by the Dutch from the hands of the Portuguese. A part of the small Cochin was inhabited by white Jews. Anquetil's description of Cochin shows, that the city and the surrounding district formed a great centre of trade at that time. Some of the Europeans who lived there were literary persons. There were also many learned Christian priests. There were a number of Christian Churches built by the several European communities that traded with India. Anquetil visited Veraple which was the seat of the Apostolic Vicar of the Malabar Coast. His description of the Christians of this district will be found somewhat interesting to the students of the history of the spread of Christianity here. Even M. Florent, a head priest of the district, could not tell how old was the Christian population there. At the time of Anquetil's visit, there were about 200,000 Christians, of whom 50,000 were Roman Catholics, 100,000 Syrian Malabari Catholics, 50,000 other Syrian Christians (Syro-Malabares-Schismatiques). The Latin or Roman Catholics again were divided into three classes: 1. Christians of St. Thomas. 2. The Topis, born of Portuguese fathers and Indian mothers, either by legal marriage or concubinage, who dressed as Europeans. Most of the domestic servants of the Dutch, the English and the French in India belonged to this class. 3. The Moundoukarens who were

recently converted Malabari Christians and who dressed as natives of the land, and the Kouloukaren who were fishers and sailors.

Anquetil speaks of the following curiosities or monstrosities which he heard were seen in the district. (1) A child 3 inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, white in colour and well-formed, (2) A flying frog, and (3) Bashful ants (*vers honteux*.) (4) small monkeys, having the eyes of owls and long paws, (5) a small fly with six lines of diameter in the form of a tortoise with two green and gilt horns. His detailed description of the district should be of some use to those interested in the question of the old topography of the district.

Anquetil left Cochin on 25th January 1758, and returned to Mahi on 29th January 1758. He then left Mahi by boat for Goa, Goa on 23th February. He escaped falling into the hands of pirates and arrived at Mangalore on 16th February. Mangalore had then a brisk trade with Muscat in sandalwood, pepper, cardamom, &c. He left Mangalore on the 17th and arrived at Goa on the 21st of February *via* Carwar and Marmagao. He met here, again, his brother, who three days after Anquetil's arrival, left for Surat, which, sailing along the coast, he reached after a voyage of about 30 days. His brother hastened to Surat because he had to take up his new post there. Anquetil parted from him because he wanted to see *en route* several places like Aurangabad and Ellor.¹

Anquetil found life at Goa very monotonous. He found the society of the people both the clergy and the laity -insipid.² Anquetil refers to the "Tribunal de l'Inquisition" of the city, at some length. He was pleased with the fertility and surroundings of the part known as the Salsette of Goa; but was disgusted with the people (the Portuguese) who did not take sufficient advantage of the blessings of the city's soil and situation. He regretted that Goa was not inhabited by other people.³ He left Goa on 23rd March 1758. In the adjoining town of Ponda he saw the inhabitants observing the carnival of "le Singat" (Singah or the Holi holidays). He says the people there, like his own people on their holidays, "committed a hundred follies."⁴

He then began to ascend the Ghauts, whose beauty and the view from whose summit made a very pleasant impression upon his mind.⁵ The beautiful Nature, as seen there, carried his thoughts to Nature's God

¹ P. 191. ² P. 214

³ "Le regrettais, en m'arrachant à ce spectacle ravissant, que Goa ne fut pas habitée par d'autres hommes" I, p. 215

⁴ "Le Peuple se barbouille et fait comme parmi nous mille folies," *Ibid*, p. 216.

Ibid, p. 218.

and to the chaos, which must have at one time prevailed in the universe. He considered the green lawn that he saw to be the best in the world (la plus belle pelouse du monde)¹. He philosophised upon the attempts of the different European nations to take possession of this beautiful country (cette riche contrée). He thoroughly enjoyed the beauty of the Western Ghauts, the pleasure of which neither money nor greatness can buy (un plaisir que les richesses ni les grandeurs ne donnent point). He muses with himself and says. "Cannot I pass, protected from the tumult of the world, the rest of my days with some friends in this retreat which Nature appears to have in these mountains"? But the thought of the presence of the Canarese and the Mahrathas,² and of the tigers in this district soon makes him say that it was all illusion (pure illusion ?) and that he would have no repose there.

Descending the Ghauts, while resting under a tree, he sent his Canarese guide to fetch some eatables from the adjoining town of Konapur. The man did not return. What made Anquetil very anxious was the loss of his passport which was with the guide. Having waited long, he himself went to the town. The Fouzdar sent for him, but fearing lest he may be arrested, he left the town, bribing the guards of the city gate to open the gate for him late at night.

In the course of his account of further progress towards Poona, he gives an expression to a favourable opinion about the Mahrathas, whom he prefers to the Canarese. Admiration for the Mahrathas.

The former are hospitable and open the gates of their villages to travellers, while the latter are suspicious and close them. He thus passes an interesting certificate for the Mahrathas ; "The people are gay, strong and healthy and depend upon nothing but their courage and arms. Their principal strength is in their cavalry. Hospitality is their dominating virtue. Their country seems to be the country of Nature. On conversing with the Mahrathas, I felt, as if I was conversing with the men of some early ages. In fact, as Nature is subject to very few wants in this happy country, she is equally less active. So, in the space of several centuries, she hardly goes through any changes." What Anquetil seems to mean is this : The country, being very fertile, people there have not much to work over the soil. So, they are less active. Thus, being less subject to changes, they are generally conservative.

Anquetil crossed the river Krishna on his way. His description of the country is very detailed, to such an extent, that one may find it

¹ *Ibid*, p. 218.

² *Ibid*, p. 219.

wearisome ; but it may be found useful for those who want to study the old topography of the district. He complains, that the coins (पैसा पंक्ती) of one part of the Mahratha country were not accepted in another part.

After a journey of several days, Anquetil arrived on 8th April 1754, at Poona (Ponin), which, he says, was the capital of the Mahrathas at that time, Satara being the old capital. He stayed for a night at the house of a Mahratha Bania, named Irgana, upon whom he had a letter of introduction from one Antasinay. Anquetil's following description of Poona will be found interesting . -

" The bazar is a large street which it traverses from one end to the other. One finds there all the articles of commerce of Asia and also a part of those of Europe which the English send there from Bombay, which is at the distance of four or five days' journey. But all these rich things are used more by the Moors (*i e*, the Mahomedans) than the Mahrathas. These people have few wants. A piece of red cloth for the cap, another of white cloth round the loins, a third for the scarf, and some yards of cloth for the winter,—these form the dress of the rich. Their gold is converted into ornaments which they and their women put on. Their food very often consists of rice and vegetables to which they add a little of melted butter. A similar kind of liquid serves for their drink. It fattens them and sometimes they take it to such an extent that it makes them dull. It is clear that the commerce of the Europeans in India would perish absolutely, if these people were uppermost everywhere. But the effeminacy and luxury of the Mahomedans make up for the simple frugality of the Mahrathas."

He then refers to Nana, and says, that, at the time of his visit he was not at Poona but had gone to Nassik Tirmak, which was held to be sacred by the Mahrathas, "because, they say, that the water of the Ganges comes out there from the mouth of a cow."

He left Poona on the 9th of April staying there for one day. On his way further, he came across the case of a suttee. He says : " the flakes of fire, the noise of the drums, the clashing sound of the flutes and the cries of those present added to the horror of the ceremony. . . . Nature (here) being enervated by heat and accustomed to violences of despotism, they look to misfortune, to death itself with a kind of carelessness or of courage,

which in free countries and temperate climates one hardly finds among women."¹

On proceeding further, in a village named Zavola, he passed the night at a village school, where the pupils spread white sand over a black board and wrote over it with their fingers. The teacher beat the pupils the whole time, striking a long cane over the exposed parts of their bodies.

He arrived at a suburb of Aurangabad at night on 14th April, and the next day, went to the camp of the French army of M. de Bussey, but was received very coldly because the story of the incident of the quarrel, which he had at Calgan in Bengal with the French army there, had preceded him here. But some officers made up for this coldness by their politeness towards him. The city of Aurangabad did not please him much. He did not see anything striking. He says: "One who has seen one Mahomedan city of a certain size has seen all the cities." All the cities are built on well-nigh the same plan. There was more of debauchery here than in Bengal. The public houses of young boys were more common and more frequented than those of women. In consequence of this, he left the city soon for Ellora and Daulatabad.

He arrived at Houra (Ellora) on 16th April. He passed through Caghavara, where they manufactured paper (câgar), and then through the village of Rouza (Rosa), where he saw the tomb of Aurangzeb. He found the Mahomedans of Rosa proud and insolent. As Thevenot, who had visited the caves of Ellora before him, had given a very short account of them, he resolved to describe them in details. The site of the caves was in the form of a horse-shoe. The monuments of Ellora were believed to be the work of Genies. They gave an idea of the work of the Indians, of their boldness (hardiesse) of conception and of their patience in execution. A blow of the hammer wrongly given would spoil a colonade and compel a new digging in the surface of a large rock.

Returning to Aurangabad, on 17th April, he went to see the fort of Daulatabad on the 18th. M. de Saint Paul, the commandant of the Germans, whom he had seen, in 1757, in the French camp at Schicakoul, helped him in seeing well the fort, which had the batteries of Aurangzeb upon it. The water in the cistern on the fort was so

cold, that even at 10 o'clock in the morning (in April), one can hardly dare to drink it. On the edge of the rock, he saw a piece of massive artillery turned to the north, in length about $4\frac{1}{2}$ sticks (cannes), the diameter of the mouth and the neck being about one foot. Near the touch-hole was an inscription in Mahrathi and Mahomedan languages. There was also a smaller piece of artillery, pointed to the west-south-west. On proceeding further, after seeing the Takea (seat) of the Sultan, he found a third piece of artillery. Anquetil's description of the fort in details may interest one, who would like to compare the present condition of the fort, with its former condition ¹. Anquetil speaks of the fort as impregnable (une place imprenable ²). Besides the magazine, it contained stores of food that would last 100 men for one year. That being the case, the fort has never yielded except to a surprise attack or to treason. After having visited the quarters of the Moullahs, who being ignorant, could not talk with him on the subject of metaphysics and oriental history, and after having seen the tomb of the daughter of Aurangzeb, known as the Begum kâ-bâgh (i.e., the garden of the Begum), where he heard a Mull reciting the *Koran*, he left Aurangabad on the 22nd for Surat. He passed *via* the villages of Nizampet,³ Boudnapouri, Pipelgaon, Kuenjgaon, Palsera, Doukervari, all in the Paragna of Gandapour, and Songaon and Wari in the Paragna of Kandaal, which was given by Schah Raja (Raja Sahu) to Nana. He then passed through the Paragna of Patoûal, about 30 *kôsh* from Nasik.

He caught dysentery en route, and so, lived upon the light food of rice-kânji (Cânge léger), which served *as his* meals up to Surat. He proceeded further *via* Goteimgaon, Argaon,⁴ and Itava. He entered the Paragana of Tchador on the 26th. After Pipelgaon, he entered the Paragana of Loner. He passed through the country of the Bhils, "a caste of particular people between the Mahrathas and the Mahomedans."⁵ He passed through the district of Baglane, where they speak Baglanique, a dialect of Marathi mixed with Gujarati. He passed through the Paragana of Moller, which was then conquered by Nana. He was still passing through the country of the Bhils. He lost his way and one of the Bhil mountaineers, kindly gave him milk and guided him to the proper route without waiting for, or accepting, any recompense. He thus compliments the Bhils: "In similar circumstances among the civilized people, we would have run the risk of losing our life, or at least of being robbed?"

¹ I had the pleasure of seeing the town of Aurangabad, the fort of Daulatabad and the caves of Ellora in February 1891. For a Gujarati account of my visit of the Ellora caves, *vide* my *Dnyân Pâsarak Essays*, Part 1, pp. 105-120.

² P. 254.

³ P. 259.

Entering the Paragana of Bandari, he now began to meet the Banias of Gujarat. He passed the Choki of Damanji Ekbar (perhaps Damaji Guikwar ¹). He now arrived on the 29th, to the well-known fort-town of Songhad² (Songuer), where Nana, Holkar and Damaji, all three had their officers or Residents. Anandrao (Anauro Ekbar) commanded the fort, where lived the women of the household of his brother Damaji. He left Songhad on the 30th, and passing through some villages and crossing some *nalas* (*i.e.*, streams), arrived at Beara (modern Viārā વીરા), which a Mahratha chieftain, named Babourao, had purchased from Damaji (Damangir). The town had a fort built of stone. He then arrived at Bagipoura, a beautiful village built by Badji Bolalrao, father of Nana. On 1st of May 1758, he arrived at the Chowki of Maneikpoura, and then, at Bardoli. The country here was found beautiful and cultivated. Then, proceeding through Caodragaon and Kombaria, and passing by a Takli of Fakirs, he arrived at the gate of Surat at about five in the evening, weakened through dysentery. He waited for a passport from the Nabob of Surat, which was soon brought by a peon of the French factory, and within half an hour he was in the arms of his brother at the factory.

VII.

STAY AT SURAT.

Now commences the third part of Anquetil's story of his travels. He stayed at Surat for three years. Before describing Surat, its foundation and early beginning, he gives some account of the origin of Surat, which, he says, was one of the largest cities of India, and was well-populated, in spite of its many sufferings, being pillaged alternately by the Mahrathas and the Mahomedans. At first, it was a village of fishermen. In the thirteenth century, when Cambay was well-known, it was an unknown village.

Anquetil gives the following story of its foundation on the authority of Nur Beg, a librarian of the last Mahomedan Soubadar of Ahmedabad. In the reign of Mahomed Begadā of Ahmedabad, at the end of the 15th century, there was here, a village of fishermen, whose head casteman was one Suratdji. His surname was Mahigir (*i.e.*, one who catches fish). This headman paid, on behalf of his caste, the dues due to the governor of Rander, who ruled there on behalf of the king of

¹ P. 261. For a short history of the Guikwar rulers of this time, *vide* my paper entitled "An Outline of the History of the Early Guikwar" in the *Svatantra* (સત્તાન્ત્ર) of 12th September 1913.

² Songhad and the adjoining villages have even now a Parsee population. I had the pleasure of visiting Songhad, Viārā, Mahwa and Bardoli, in December 1909 and January 1910.

Ahmedabad. The Portuguese, in one of their privateering excursions, attacked and looted the fishermen's village. Suratdji complained to the king at Ahmedabad and asked for protection. The king ordered Khodavandkhan, the governor of Rander, to erect a fort on the other side of the Tapti where the fishermen lived. Khodavandkhan built a fort and founded there a city, which he named Surat, to commemorate the name of Suratdji, who had represented the matter to the king. Anquetil gives the following chronogram as the inscription on the gate of this fortress: "Sadd boud har sineh djân Feringui in benah¹," i.e., This (fortress) was built for defence against the Portuguese.

This line, according to the calculation on the *abyad* system, gives the date of the fort as 931 Hijri, i.e., 1524 A.D. At first, the walls of the town were made of earth. That continued till 1666 A.D., by which time the city increased in size. A few years afterwards, a wall was built round the city. In about 1708, in the time of Haidar Koulikhan, another wall was built round the city. In the time of Anquetil, it had 12 gates with guns on its round towers.

Anquetil gives the following story about the foundation of the city of Ahmedabad, whose king ruled over Surat. The first Mahomedan ruler of Gujarat was Mouzafarkhan, who had received the government of the country from Emperor Firouz. On the death of Firouz, he became independent from the Mogul throne, and his successors continued so till the time of Akbar. His capital was at Pâtan. After a reign of 11 years, he was succeeded by his grandson Ahmed. This prince, one day, saw a Persian horse all perspired. On inquiry, one of his officers made the following confession: At a place about 45 *kosh* from Pâtan, there lived a Hindu woman with whose beauty he was enchanted. She went to a temple every day, and the officer had gone to see her when she attended the temple. He returned within 4 *pehers*, i.e., 12 hours, and so, the horse which took him there was all perspired. The king liked to satisfy himself about the truth of this statement. He went with the officer to the place and saw the Hindu damsel. When looking at the town, he saw an hare fighting with a hunting dog. He was struck with this sight and thought, that such a place must produce warriors. So, he founded a city on the place about 40 *kosh* from Patan—and named it Ahmedabad after

¹ This will run in Persian characters as

صد بود بر سينه جان فرنگي ابن بقا

i.e., lit. This building was a hindrance on the breast of the soul of the Portuguese.

his own name. It then became the capital of Gujarat. Anquetil says, that a Persian inscription gives the date of the construction of the Masjid of the city as 1207 A.D. (810 Hijri), and the date of the construction of the city as 1409 (812 H.). Anquetil gives a short account of the kings of Ahmedabad up to the time of Akbar, and of the Soubadars under Akbar and his successors up to the time of Mahomed Shah. He also gives an account of the family and principal officers of Nizam-ul-Moulk. He then describes the 22 Soubas of Hindustan and gives a list of 61 emperors, beginning with Pethara Raja of Delhi in the 12th century and ending with Shah Jahan Sané in about 1761.

Surat was under the territories of the Mogul Empire. It was ruled over once directly by the Râjâs of Ahmedabad. In Administration and trade of Surat. Anquetil's time, it had two governors, one for the fort and the other for the city, both independent of one another. Anquetil gives a long list of the former governors of Surat from Salabatkhân downwards. He says that Gujarât was spoken of in his time as *Zin al belad*—the beauty of cities. Surat, owing to its midway situation, commanded the trade of well-nigh the whole of the Indian peninsula and of the Persian and Arabian Gulfs. This commerce made her rich. She had captured the trade of Goa and Ahmedabad. Anquetil attributes the fall of Surat principally to two causes. Firstly, the Chiefs of the different European factories—the French, Portuguese, English, Dutch, &c.—envied one another, and through unjustifiable rivalry spoilt the trade. Secondly, the Nabobs or governors themselves also ruined the trade by oppressive duties and taxes and consequent restrictions on trade. Lastly, the internal dissensions and warfare among the successors of the Nabob, Teg Beg Khan, further ruined the trade of the city. Anquetil describes at some length the dissensions between the heirs of Nabob Teg Beg Khan. The different European factories took one side or the other from the point of view of their interests.

In these dissensions among the rival heirs of the late Nabob, a rich Parsee of Surat, named Muncherjee and known by his people as Muncherjee Sett, was involved. He was the broker of the Dutch factory. Anquetil speaks of him as the chief of the Parsees at Surat (chef des Parsees de Surat). The Mahrathas began taking advantage of the internal dissensions in Surat, and now and then, with or without taking sides, attacked the town. Among the rivals for the chief power of the Nabobship, one was Sabdar Khan who was supported by the Dutch factory. He was opposed by the Mahrathas. They took the above Muncherjee Sett, who helped the Dutch, and through

them Sabdar Khan, prisoner. They asked from him a ransom of four lakhs of rupees, and in the meantime, imposed upon him a daily fine of Rs. 500, as the cost of keeping and feeding the guards who watched him. According to Anquetil, one of the ways, resorted to by the Mahrathas to extort the above four lakhs from Muncherjee, was to force excrement in his mouth. The Dutch, thereupon, left the city in their ships, and going to the mouth of the river, threatened the arrest of the trading vessels that came in. They put their threat partially into practice, and the uproar, raised by the mercantile community, compelled Nabob Miachand, who was then in the ascendancy and who was helped by the Mahrathas, to make peace with the Dutch. One of the Dutch conditions was the immediate release of Muncherjee Sett. Peace being thus made, the Dutch re-entered into Surat in their ships and were welcomed with some demonstration by the Parsees at Omber (Oomra on the left bank of the Tapti), which was then a chief village of the Parsees of Surat (gross aldee de Parsees).¹

For some time, the English factors stood aloof and took no sides.

Anquetil's account of the internal dissensions and the English Factory.

The Dutch were in the ascendancy for some time.

The English then began to become a little active and sided with Miâ-atchand (Mian Achchan) and opposed Subdar Khan (Safdar Khan) and his Dutch allies. Anquetil thus pays a compliment to the English. "They carried their sight further off,

knew the strength and the weakness of the city, the extent of its commerce, and of the use of its fleet which sojourned in Indian waters."² The English made some additions to their factory premises in 1746, built two reservoirs for water and fortified their place. In 1748, on the arrival of Mr. Darel, as the chief of the factory, their place was guarded by 250 soldiers

On 8th November 1748, there met a general assembly of all European nations except the Dutch, to consider the situation created at Surat by Sabdar Khan, whereby trade was greatly jeopardised. It was resolved that Sabdar Khan should be made to leave Surat, and the English were entrusted with

¹ For a succinct History of Surat, vide સુરતની પ્રગતિસર લેખિકા by Narmadashankar (Narmagadh, Vol. II, No. 1, 1866)

² Pp. 281-282.

³ From an account of the life of Rustam Manock (1634-1721), the founder of the Sett family of Bombay, who was a broker of the English factory, written in Persian verse by Mobad Jamshed bin Kaikobad in 1711, we learn, that the house of the first English factory was one that belonged to a Mahomedan merchant Hâjî Hajaj Beg. It was a palatial building and was rented for Rs. 1,800 per year. (The Genealogy of the Sett family by Mr. Jalbhoy Sett,

that mission. The latter, therefore, sent for further guns, soldiers and an Engineer from Bombay. They expected further reinforcements. They arranged to use an adjoining caravan-sarai to drill their soldiers and so, connected it by a new gate in their premises. Thus, they and all the other European factors except the Dutch, placed themselves on the side of Miachan. A Dutch, who went to their premises to see what was happening there, was arrested as a spy, and after a summary justice, was, within a short period of five hours, beheaded. The Hollanders protested against this act, affirming at the same time, that they were no way befriending Sabdar Khan. The latter now began taking some steps for his own defence. He hired four coolies to murder Miachan, and his colleagues, Moola Fakhruddin, Chalabi and Mir Mahomedalli, who all were united against him. This attempt at murder failed. At last, Sabdar Khan was made to leave Surat and retired to Sind. Miachan thus came to power with the help of the English, but he did not long continue to exercise that power. He thought, that the English were trying to play their game through him, and so, began to side with the Dutch and gave them the power and the influence which they exercised under Sabdar Khan.

The scales were thus turned. Miachan, who was once befriended by the English, was now opposed to them. He imprisoned Moola Fakhruddin, a rich citizen who was very friendly to the English. The English now did what the Dutch had done formerly. They, with their ships, went to the mouth of the Tapti and interfered with the trade of the city. They insisted upon the release of Fakhruddin, just as the Dutch, in a similar instance before, had insisted upon the release of their Parsee favourite broker Muncherjee Sett. Miachan became very unpopular at Surat, and, by his mischievous conduct, paved the return of Sabdar Khan from Sind to the Nabobship of Surat. Sabdar Khan became Nabob and Miachan had to return to Bombay, once more seeking the protection of the English. The internal dissensions at Surat had not ended. Now, a quarrel arose between Sabdar Khan's party and the party of the Siddhee, *i.e.*, the Nabob of Janjira, who was held to be the Admiral of the Mogul Emperor in this part of the Arabian Sea. The Dutch now favoured the Siddhee. Sabdar Khan offered the Admiralship to the English, but it was refused. Sabdar Khan died in 1758, and his son-in-law, Ali Nawaz Khan, who was a nephew of Miachan, declared himself Nabob. The English did not acknowledge him and they again set up Miachan who was under their thumb at Bombay.

Such was the state of affairs at Surat, when, Anquetil Du Perron entered into the city on 1st May 1758. Ali Nawaz Khan, who was on

the Nabobship at the time, was helped by Muncherjee Sett who was the leader of the Parsees and who was also the broker of the Dutch factory. Anquetil says, that Muncherjee Sett was very powerful (tout puissant) at Surat and that he did not well repay the confidence shown to him by Ali Nawaz Khan. But this allegation is falsified by the very fact, mentioned by Anquetil himself, a little later on, that when Muncherjee Sett visited Ali Nawaz Khan, after his downfall in his retirement in a suburb of Surat, the latter presented him with a horse, valued at Rs. 2,000. During all these internal dissensions, the English, siding with one party or another, were making their influence felt. Miachan, with their help, returned to Surat and to the Nabobship. Ali Nawaz Khan resigned the Nabobship, and retired to a suburb. Shortly after, Miachan again became unfriendly to the English. At last, the English, entering into some terms with the Mahrathas, sent an attack on Surat aided by their fleet and took it on 4th March 1759. Anquetil gives a long description of the attack of the English on Surat and of their triumphal entry into the city. His description will be found interesting by many as that of an eye-witness. In this description, we see traits of Anquetil's prejudice as a Frenchman against the English. The English, though they were virtually masters of the situation and of the city, appointed Miachan as the nominal Nabob and Faraskhan as his deputy. It was in 1800, that the English became direct masters of the city.

Faraskhan, the Deputy Nabob, was greatly supported by the English, and so, he exerted greater authority than Miachan. On 10th April 1759, there was a great uproar in the bazar of the city, owing to the fact that a son of Faraskhan, on the strength of his father's influence and power, tried to extort money from the bazar people. Some of the Parsees¹ got excited at this piece of despotism and assaulted his sepoys. They, in their turn, were assaulted and wounded. Faraskhan thereupon ordered that all the Parsees, that may be met with, be arrested. Among those thus arrested, one was a brother of Muncherjee Sett, the rich leading Parsee referred to above. Muncherjee, on having gone to release his brother, was himself arrested. Jagarnath, who was favourite with the English, was a personal enemy of Muncherjee who was favourite with the Dutch. He represented Muncherjee to be hostile to the English. The second chief officer of the Dutch factory ran to Nabob Miachan and asked for the release of his broker Muncherjee, but Faraskhan refused to set him to liberty, notwithstanding Miachan's desire to do so. At last, Chalebi, Sidi Jafar and Valli Eullah, who were the leading and influential

¹ Tome I, Partie I, p. 307.

personages in the city, apprehending that this matter would bring upon an open rupture between the English and the Dutch which would do harm to the trade of the city, interfered and got Muncherjee released at midnight.

By this time, a Firman came from the Mogul Court at Delhi, acknowledging the English as the head of the Mogul fleet and as the Killehdars of the fort of Surat. At the Durbar held for the reading of this *Firman*, though invited, the chief factors of the Dutch and the French did not attend, as their attendance would have meant an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the English. In the meantime, some of the officers of the Nabob's Court, making an improper use of their influence with the English, became very aggressive in the city, and the officers of the English factories had a good deal of trouble to suppress this aggression.

Then, there came another *Firman* from the Mogul Court and another Durbar was held to read it. A French merchant, named Boucard attended that Durbar, in spite of a general order to the contrary from Anquetil de Briancourt, the brother of Anquetil du Perron, who had now become the chief of the French factory. He was summoned immediately to the French factory for an explanation. He did not attend, and the English sent him home under the protection of 100 native soldiers. But the chief of the French factory used his authority the next day, and, sending for him, imprisoned him, for about 24 hours.

Anquetil had, on his arrival at Surat, lived at the French Factory, where he was given all the help that he required (on m'y donna tous les secours dont je pouvois avoir besoin).¹ A few days' rest had removed all the fatigues of his journey. He had not entirely got rid of the symptoms of dysentery which he had caught in the journey, and the treatment of an European, who called himself a doctor, had not cured him. But an absolutely strict spare diet cured him in a month and a half. He then left the French factory and took separate quarters. He says: "Several reasons compelled me to take private lodging and to appear rarely at the French factory. The cold, sarcastic and exacting character of the French Chief was the reason to leave (the factory). There were difficulties in all matters, continuous dilatoriness, delays, which could never end, in affairs which one can dispose off immediately." Further on, after referring to his first inter-

¹ P. 313

views with the Dasturs, he complains : " I saw from that time, the manoeuvres of the people of the factory. They sought to push themselves forward and disliked that I should soon accomplish the fact (*i.e.*, arrangements of study, &c.) I resolved to do without them and to conduct my affairs myself. For this reason, it was necessary to leave the French factory where I was much pinched and where I already felt that I was an embarrassment. . . . As long as M. le Verrier remained in Surat, it was not possible for me to draw out from the Dasturs any other thing except the Zend and Pahlavi Vendidad. . . . I was thus in the most sad situation, exposed to the (same) treatment which I had experienced in Bengal. They refused me everything at the French factory, and that, with a sort of contempt which could not but alienate from me the people of the country. It was necessary to formerly summon (for justice) the French Chief, and to lodge a bitter complaint against his behaviour before the superior Council and the Government at Pondichery, and to send to the latter a copy of the letters which I had received from M. le Comte de Caylus and from M. Boutin, the Commissary of the King in the Company of the Indies, who recommended me to the Governor and authorised him to advance money to me. While waiting for a reply to this despatch, I must see myself out of the plight, to return what I had borrowed from Goa to make the voyage to Surat. It was necessary to reduce myself to 'the very humble state of (living only upon) *kischeri* ¹, in order, that I may save from my salary, to pay a part of my debt, to buy the books which I wanted, and with all that, to study."

Anquetil attributes the indifference of M. le Verrier, of whom he speaks as an honest and religious-minded man, to a little sensitiveness on his part, for not receiving enough of visits from him (Anquetil) and to his own indifference in not paying enough of respect to him and his want of party spirit, and lastly, to the want of sufficiently strong recommendation for him from Pondicherry.

We thus see, that within a month and a half or two of his arrival at Surat, Anquetil begins finding fault with the French Chief and even lodges a complaint against him at the headquarters at Pondicherry. M. de Verrier had secured for him, even before his arrival at Surat, and when he was at Chandarnagar, promises from the Dasturs to help him with books and instruction. When Anquetil arrived at Surat, he supplied all his wants. Anquetil himself admits all that. But within a short time, all that is changed. He thinks that, not only were the Dasturs disinclined to help him, but even his own countrymen, and even the

¹ *i.e.*, a simple meal of rice and *dal*.

Chief of his own Factory. He finds himself pinched where a short time before he was supplied with all wants. From the eccentric, haughty and unsteady way of Anquetil's life, and from his proneness to exaggerate matters, and to give airs to all his affairs of having worked under great difficulties, we may well sympathise with M. le Verrier for ungratefulness shown towards him by Anquetil. Anquetil has taken the liberty of attributing M. le Verrier's alleged faults to his undue desire for expecting visits and respects from Anquetil. If one were to take the same liberty of judging the conduct of Anquetil, in changing his views and line of action so shortly, he may say, that perhaps Anquetil had his own object to serve. We know from his account of his stay at Pondicherry on return from Chandanagar, that he requested the Chief there to appoint his brother to be the second in authority at the Factory at Surat, with a further view, that he may be appointed the Chief on the retirement of M. le Verrier. Thinking of ordinary human nature, one may be pardoned for supposing, that possibly, in seeking quarrel with M. le Verrier, and in accusing him of interfering, or not helping him, in his studies, Anquetil had in mind the ulterior object of M. le Verrier's recall, so that, his brother may succeed him as Chief; and, as a matter of fact we do find that he was soon so appointed.

In the midst of his account of his relations with the French Chief, M. le Verrier, he speaks of his first introduction with the Dasturs. In their case also, he begins to find fault with them from the very beginning. I will speak of his relations with the Dasturs and of his account of his study in my subsequent paper.

Anquetil, who was displeased with his own chief, on the ground that he did not help him sufficiently well in his studies, sought the aid of the Dutch factory, and through it, got the help of Muncherjee Sett, the leader of the Parsees. Muncherjee got him another manuscript of the Vendidad which he compared with the copy supplied by Dasturs Darab and Kaus. He found differences for which he found fault with the Dasturs, supposing, that they knowingly supplied him with a faulty manuscript, while as a matter of fact that was not so. We will see in the subsequent paper what the differences were. Later on, he secured from Dastur Darab, among other manuscripts, a copy of a Persian manuscript, of which he spoke as the "small history in verse of the retreat of the Parsees to India." This Persian history, of which he does not give the name, is the one known as the Kisseh-i-Sanjan.

Anquetil then proceeds to give a short account of the history of the Parsees since their emigration to India, based on the above copy of the Persian history, which was called *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* from the fact of the Parsees having first landed and settled on the shores of Western India at Sanjan.¹ In this account, Anquetil has added several observations, some of which are his own, and some based on what he had heard from the Dasturs or others. Some of these observations require a few remarks and corrections.

1. He speaks of the Rājā Jadirāe (Djadiraeh), who then ruled at Sanjan, as "an Indian prince of that part of Gujarat" (*Prince Indien de cette partie du Guzarate*). This is correct. Others try to identify this name with one of the reigning monarchs or dynasties of Gujarat. This seems to be wrong.

2. The *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* says, that one of the conditions, on which the Raja permitted the Parsees to establish their colony in his country, was, that the Parsees should give up arms, give up the language of their country of Iran and adopt that of India, and that their women should adopt the dress of Indian women. This last stipulation Anquetil represents as that of freedom from Purdah system (*les femmes paraissent en public decouvertes comme celles des Indiens*). If Anquetil's version, based on the authority of what he heard at Surat, be true, it may be taken that the Purdah system was foreign to India. It may, perhaps, by implication, be taken, that the women of the new settlers, the Parsees, had purdah, and so the Raja insisted upon its removal. But that the ancient Persian women before the Mahomedan conquest had purdahs is not correct. The Parsee books do not say that. Anyhow, Anquetil's version is not supported by the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*, wherein, what the Raja asks, is simply this, that the Parsee women may dress like the Hindu women.

3. The *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* says, that the fifth condition made by the Raja was that the Parsees celebrate their marriage at evening time (*Shāmgeh* شام گه). Anquetil renders this condition as that of performing the marriage at the commencement of the night (*commencement de la nuit*). The Parsees generally, up to about 15 years ago, performed, and some even now perform, the marriage ceremony twice, the first at the commencement of the night and the second after midnight. Some attribute the second midnight repetition to a stipulation with the Hindu Raja. But we find on the authority, both of the

¹ *Vide* my paper on "Sanjan" *Jurnal B B R. A S.*, Vol XXI, pp. 4-18. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 201-16, and "A few events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates."

Kisseh itself, and of that of the version given by Anquetil on the strength of the book and of what he had heard from his Dasturs, that the midnight repetition was not at all the result of any Hindu stipulation or custom. It seems, that the original Iranian custom may be that of a midnight celebration, and the Parsees, accepting the stipulation of the Raja, added the ante-night celebration in India.

4. The Parsees generally, up to about 15 years ago, repeated, and some even now repeat, the marriage service and benediction in Sanskrit which is more or less corrupt. Some attribute that custom to a promise given by the first settlers to the Raja, that the recital shall be in Sanskrit. We learn from the Parsee Kisseh itself and from Anquetil's version of it as received from the then Dasturs by him, that there was no promise of any Sanskrit repetition. The only stipulation was that of the use of the Indian language. Possibly, in the early times of the settlement at Sanjan, they thought it advisable to recite the benediction in Sanskrit to help some of their learned Hindu guests to understand the ritual, and that act of courtesy formed a custom; but there was nothing like a promise or stipulation as regards marriage itself.

5. According to the Persian Kisseh, at the end of the fifteenth century (about 1490 A.D.), Sultan Mahmud invaded Sanjan and killed a large number of Parsees, who, making a common cause with their rulers, the Hindus, defended the country. Their subsequent defeat compelled them to run away to the adjoining mountain of Bahrut with their sacred fire which they had consecrated and established at Sanjan. The Persian Kisseh speaks of the invading king as Sultan Mahmud, but Anquetil on the authority of the tradition, that he must have heard at Surat from the Dasturs, speaks of the Sultan Mahmud as that of Gujarat (Le Sultan Mahmoud (Mohammed) Schah étant sur le throne du Guzarate). The Parsee tradition says, that this Sultan Mahmud was the Sultan Mahmoud Beghada of Ahmedabad in Gujarat (1459-1511). Dr. Wilson, who submitted to this ¹ Society Eastwick's translation of the Persian Kisseh with his own notes accepted this tradition. But, Sir James Campbell, in his *Gazetteer*,² first doubted the Parsee tradition and said that the Sultan Mahmud who invaded Sanjan was Mahmoud Ala-ud-din Khilji (1297-1317). Anquetil's version of the event shows, that the tradition has been an old tradition, prevalent in his time about 150 years ago, and that it was Sultan Mahmoud Beghada of Ahmedabad in Gujarat who had invaded Sanjan. I have shown elsewhere, ³ that it is possibly a mistake in the

¹ Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I.

² The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIII, Part II, p. 438.

³ Vide my "A few events in the early history of the Parsees", p. 62, *et seq.*

translation of the Persian Kisseh by Eastwick, due to his want of familiarity with old Parsee names, that misled Sir James Campbell.

6. Among the several errors of Anquetil in his version of the Persian Kisseh, there are two of geographical positions. He speaks of the mountain of Bahrout,¹ to which the Parsees, as said above, fled with their sacred fire, as being situated somewhere near Champaner. Herein, he seems to have been misled by the fact, that the Kisseh speaks of Mahmoud Begada as invading Sanjan after the capture of the fort of Champaner. He thought that Bahrout, which is a few miles distant from Sanjan, was situated near Champaner.

Again Anquetil speaks of Wānsda, to which town the Parsees took their sacred fire after a few years' stay at Bahrout, to be somewhere near Aurangabad. It is a gross mistake, because Bānsdah (Wānsdā²) is situated at about 30 miles' distance from Bilimora.

7. Anquetil commits a contradictory mistake in the matter of the date of the removal of the sacred fire from Bānsdah to Naosari by Changashah, a rich Parsee of Naosari, who helped poor Parsees with Sudreh and Kusti and who had several times written to the Dasturs of Iran on doubtful questions. He gives the date as 785 Yazdazardi (le feu Behram, l'an 785 d'Iezdedgerd (de J. C. 1415) fut apporté en pompe de Bānsdah à Naucari³). This gives the date of the time, when Changashah lived, as the early part of the 15th century. But, in another part of his book, he speaks of Changashah as living in the early part of the 16th century (Tchengah Schah, habitant de Naucari en 1516)⁴. So, the dates are contradictory. The second date is correct, and the first, viz., 1415-16 is evidently wrong, because Sultan Mahmoud Begada (1459-1511), in whose reign Sanjan was invaded and after whose conquest of Sanjan the sacred fire was taken to Naosari, was not even born at that date.

Having given the history of the Parsees, mostly on the authority of the Persian Kisseh and a little on the authority of the Dasturs, Anquetil describes several questions, on which the Parsees of Surat had their differences. They were the following :—

1. Disputes among the local priests and the Sanjan priests who had come to Naosari from Bānsdah with the sacred fire, at the instance of

¹ For an account of my visit to Bahrut, I would refer my Gujarati readers to the Jam-i-Jamshed of 7th June 1900.

² I had the pleasure of visiting Wānsdā from 11th to 13th March 1913, with a view to trace the locality where the sacred fire was deposited. We could not trace the locality.

³ Zend-Avesta, Vol. I, Part I, p. 323. ⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Part II, Notices, p. XXXIX.

Changashah. The question being taken before the Mahratha ruler (the Gaekwad), the Sanjan priests were asked to leave Naosari with the sacred fire, which they then took to Barsal (Bulsar) in 1114 Yazdazardi (1744 A. D.), and from there, seven years afterwards, to Udware in 1121 Yazdazardi (1751 A. D.). Anquetil's statement, that the sacred fire remained at Naosari for 300 years is wrong, as can be easily seen from the dates given above. It remained there for about (1744-1516=) 228 years. The above dispute seems to have arisen from the fact, that the Sanjan priests sided with the Naosari laymen in their dispute with the local priests. The Naosari dispute carried its offshoot to Surat. There also arose a dispute between the priests and the laymen.

2. The second controversial question was that of putting on the *padân* (*paitidâna* of the Avesta) on the face of the dead. Anquetil says of this dispute, that it was greater than that between the followers of Ali and Omar among the Mahomedans. According to him, Jamasp, a learned priest, was sent for from Persia to decide this matter, and he said, that there was no necessity of putting on a piece of cloth (*padân*) on the face of the dead. In Persia itself there was no custom of the kind¹.

The above Jamasp is said to have brought some Parsee books with him from Persia. He found some defects in the Pahlavi portion of the local manuscripts of the Vendidad. He took three disciples under him, one of which was Dastur Darab, another Dastur Jamaspâsa of Naosari, and the third a priest (supposed to be Dastur Kamdin) of Broach. According to Anquetil, Darab tried to improve the Pahlavi portion of the local manuscript of the Vendidad, following the instructions of Jamasp, but Muncherjee, who was himself the son of a priest (Mobed) and who was opposed to him, did not allow that to be done. In this connection, Anquetil speaks of Dorab as "a Dastur-Mobed, profound in the knowledge of Zend and of Pahlavi (Dastur-Mobed consommé dans la connaissance du Zend et du Pehlvi)² and as "more learned than others" (*plus instruit que les autres*)³.

3. The third controversy was that for an intercalary month, which the majority, the Shahanshahis had observed. Anquetil thus speaks of the state of this question at the time he arrived at Surat: "When I arrived at Surat almost all the Parsees followed the party of Muncherjee,⁴ because he was rich and powerful. Darab, whose learning was acknowledged by his adversaries also, had some followers,⁵

¹ *Vide* Mr. B. B. Patel's paper in the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume for this controversy.

² Vol. I, Part I, p. 326 ³ *Ibid.* p. 327. ⁴ *i.e.*, the Shahanshai sect. ⁵ *i.e.*, The Kadami sect.

who, afterwards, when the authority of Muncherjee and of the Dutch, of whom he was a broker, was suppressed at Surat, showed themselves out more freely."

In the matter of the third controversy, the two parties sought the help of the two factories. One party, the Shahanshahis, headed by Muncherjee, the broker of the Dutch Factory, looked to the Dutch factory for some help. So, the other party, the Kadmi, of whom Dasturs Darab and Kaus were leaders with others, sought the support of the French factory. Anquetil says, that it was to seek that support, that the Dasturs had sought the favour of M. le Verrier, the French Chief, and had promised to help him (Anquetil) with books and instruction.⁴ Anquetil took advantage of the hostility between the two parties, and playing, as it were, one side against another, tried to secure more books for study, and, as he says "the stratagem succeeded." He had received from Muncherjee a manuscript of the *Vendidâd* which he did not return in time. So, Muncherjee once thought of forcibly having it, by going to his house with the soldiers of the Dutch factory. Anquetil says, that he kept his pistols ready loaded on his table to oppose this forcible removal. There seems to be an apparent exaggeration in this matter on the side of Anquetil, because what could his pistol have done before a number of Dutch soldiers, had they come to his house according to their alleged intention !

The dissensions among the heirs of the late Nabob of Surat and the dissensions among the various European factories, which took the side of one heir or the other, had put Surat, as it were, in a state of civil war. The English had besieged the fortress of Surat. This state of affairs added, says Anquetil, to his difficulties. He had to be on the alert for the security of his things. Again the Dasturs also could not regularly attend for imparting tuition. Anquetil had occasional attacks of sickness also at this time.

Anquetil then speaks of an accident he met with. While helping a cooli, who otherwise would have been crushed with the weight of his trunk, he had, what is called in Surat, the derangement of the navel. He was treated by a woman (sage femme), who was known in Surat as an expert in the art of restoring the navel to its position. In spite of all her strength, she could not restore his navel, and the help of a robust Parsee was soon sought. This Parsee soon restored him to health and he went to work the very next day. He thus describes his work;

"In the morning, I collated the manuscript of Muncherjee with the copy of Darab, and in the evening, in the midst of heat, I translated the Vendidad from the latter manuscript. These two works were finished on 16th June (1759), as I had announced on the 11th to M. de Leyrit, while requesting him to procure me the four Vedas, the sacred books of the Indians through Arangapouley or Arombat." He then began translating the additional passages found in the manuscript of Muncherjee, but had hardly begun, when he fell ill again through the previous complaint, and the above Parsee was again sent for. He treated him for two continuous hours. Anquetil's description of this native treatment of the complaint of navel² may interest some of our medical men. The operator, says Anquetil, was all perspired, being required to exert great strength, and he himself had got well-nigh unconscious. He passed the month of July in complete rest. He did some slight work. He wrote the translation and read Zend and Pahlavi books. This work eased his mind. He was again overtaken with the above complaint at the end of August and went through the same medical treatment for several days.

On 26th September 1759, there occurred an event which quite upset Anquetil for some time. He says, he was attacked at Surat by a Frenchman. There were about 400 persons present but none separated them. He received 3 cuts with a sword and 2 with a scabbard. He went to the French factory all covered with blood. English, Dutch and Portuguese surgeons were present at the first surgical operation which was performed over him at the French factory and which made him unconscious. Both iron and fire were used in the treatment and it was only his robust temperament that saved him. Nabob Ali Navazkhan, and the principal Mahomedan and European gentlemen of the city inquired after his health from time to time. The Nabob himself made inquiries. The English though there was war between them and the French, on hearing all the evidence of the case, befriended him and gave him the protection of their pavilion. The Superior Council of Bombay and General Cromelin, supported the friendly action on the part of M. Spencer, the head of the English factory at Surat. He was lodged at the English factory.

Anquetil's brief statement about his quarrel with the Frenchman does not give us an insight into the case, and we do not understand, why he should have left his own French factory, whose chief was his own brother, and why he should have sought the protection of the English

factory. Anquetil refers to this incident twice again. (1) From what he says in one place¹, we learn that the dispute was on something about a woman. He does not mention her name, simply speaking of her as "Madame." He says that the woman afterwards remarried with a person who was an Engineer at Mahi, who, under the threat of carrying the matter to Pondicherry and even to Europe, aimed at procuring a settlement with Anquetil. When his brother received a letter from Mahi on the subject, Anquetil, who had returned to the French factory, some time after the event, asked for the protection of the English again and he was given that protection. He represented, that he himself wanted to go to Europe to bring that matter to an issue and asked for a passage in one of the English ships going to Bassora (Bassra) or to England. (2) Anquetil again refers to this incident² in his account of his visit to Mahi on his return voyage to Europe. He says that the above engineer sought to make peace, and repented for his action which he confessed was the result of bad advice.

Mr. H. Beveridge, in his interesting article³ on Anquetil Du Perron, throws further light on this incident. According to him, "Sir Erskine Perry in a notice of Anquetil Du Perron, in the Proceedings of the Philobiblon Society for 1854—states, that Du Perron succeeded in killing his adversary." Sir Erskine Perry thought it "probable that some affair of gallantry was at the bottom of it." But Mr. Beveridge thinks, that "there is no ground for supposing that there was an affair of gallantry involved in the quarrel." It occurred to the mind of Mr. Beveridge, that some examination in the Surat and Bombay records for September and October 1759 might throw some light on the affair. So, he examined the records at the India office and succeeded in finding references to it. It appears, that the Frenchman, with whom Anquetil had a duel and whom he killed in the duel, was a Frenchman named M. Biquant, who had "concerted a plan for seizing several Moors' ships even in Surat Road." His letters were intercepted and their translation was sent to Surat to be shown to "Meah Atchand and Pharass Cawn,"⁴ that they may take suitable notice thereof." Before proper notice of M. Biquant's conduct could be taken by the Nawab and the English factory at Surat, the duel took place and Biquant was killed.

¹ Vol. I, p. 431.

² P. 440.

³ "The Calcutta Review", Vol. CIII, October 1896, No. 206, p. 293.

⁴ Miatichen and Farikhan of Anquetil.

We further learn from the extracts of the records, quoted by Mr. Beveridge, that M. Anquetil De Briancourt, the brother of Anquetil Du Perron, wrote to the English factory on 11th October 1759 "reclaiming him in the name of the (French) king." The English Chief, Mr. John Spencer, wrote in reply on the 13th, saying, that, as both the French and the English were then "in a neutral city" and as there was "sufficient testimony that Mons. Du Perron has on this occasion only acted on the motives of self-defence," the English were justified in giving him the "asylum he sued for."

Mr Beveridge, thus sums up the case and gives his views. "Though these extracts leave the cause of the quarrel unexplained, it seems unlikely that it could have been anything very discreditable to Du Perron, as otherwise the English would hardly have given him shelter, and that, too, in a time of war. Certainly it was not likely that there was any intrigue with Madame Biquant, for, if Anquetil had been her lover, she probably would not have been so forward and persistent in her endeavour to bring him to justice. I suspect that the affair arose out of Du Perron's unbridled tongue. Though a solitary man, or, perhaps I should rather say, because he was a solitary man, he was wanting in reticence, and often made imprudent and cutting remarks. He could not control his pen, as his personal narrative abundantly shows, and it is probable that he was equally reckless with his tongue. Though M Biquant was the assailant, yet he probably had had provocation of some sort. Else why was the local French feeling so strongly against Anquetil, as seems to have been the case, and why had the latter not confidence enough in his own innocence to stand his trial, instead of taking the extraordinary step of twice soliciting the protection of a hostile nation. The letter referred to by the Bombay Government seems to show that Biquant was a man of violent character, and, if I may make a guess, I am inclined to think that some careless remarks by Du Perron about Biquant or his wife, were the instigating cause of the duel."

I think Mr Beveridge's estimate of Anquetil's character or nature is correct. But, on the ground of the very argu-

My view of the case. ments that he advances, I suspect that the cause of the quarrel was perhaps Anquetil's divulging to the English, directly or indirectly, M. Biquant's plan for seizing the Moor ships or some such secrets. Anquetil was a man of quarrelsome spirit. He would quarrel on the slightest ground, even with those who had once favoured him. The French factor M. le Verrier had helped him, and promised him the help of the Parsee Dasturs when he was in Bengal. But, on coming to Surat, he got

displeased with him and even wished for his removal. He had quarrelled with his French people in Bengal. He was not liked by the French soldiers, in whose camp he was for some time on his way to Surat *via* Pondicherry. We thus see, that being a man of rather an awkward disposition, he was not a favourite with the French at Surat, and was, at times, well-inclined towards the English, who helped him. The English welcomed him at once in their factory after the above incident of the assault. All these and other circumstances, referred to by Mr. Beveridge, lead me to think, that the cause of the duel was an hostile act towards M. Biquant like that of divulging his business secret.

His confinement at home on account of his wounds in the duel and for the purpose of avoiding complications, was, to a certain extent, advantageous to him, because he could, under the circumstance, more steadily attend to his studies.

Mr. Erskine, a member of the Council of Surat, who spoke the Moor (*i.e.*, Mahomedan) language well and who was then transferred to Sind, had offered to help Anquetil from Tata (Tattah) in Sind. Anquetil asked from him the following :—

The inquiries
Anquetil had
made from
Erskine.

1. A copy of the inscriptions on the walls of a famous temple near Tattah, supposed to have been built by Alexander.

2. Charts of the mountains of Kandahar.
3. Sanskrit, Sindhi and Patān (Pathān) books,

In September 1760, Erskine wrote, that there were no temples, ancient monuments or Hindu inscriptions near Tata. There were only some tombs of the kings of Sind with inscriptions in Arabic and Persian, well-nigh effaced. Anquetil further asked the following :—

1. Madar ul Afzal, which was a Persian Dictionary.
2. Rozut-us Safa.
3. Memoirs over the Rajas, Jesang and Jesansing and over Kashmir and Kandahar.
4. Nadeshah-namah (the history of Thomas Koulikhan).
5. History of the kings of India since Changizkhan and of their predecessors, the Rajas of Delhi.
6. The Tartar Alphabets.
7. The Saroud-nameh, a treatise on vocal and instrumental music by Abou Aloufah.

8. The Tasvir-nameh, the Persian translation of a work on painting by Ebn Hossein.

On his return from Sind to Mahim near Bombay for health, Erskine renewed his promise of help, but his subsequent death deprived Anquetil of all that help.

Anquetil then describes, at some length, the event of Mr. Spencer's departure from Surat and the function of an entertainment given to him by the Nabob at Begamwadi. His account may interest one, desirous to know something of the Nabob's palace at the time and of the entertainments given at the time. Then, he describes the event of the capture of a Mahomedan ship, named Faiz Salem, belonging to Chalebi Abdul Kader, by the Commander of a French ship, named Condé near Muscat, though the ship had a passport from the French Chief at Surat. The event raised a great uproar against the French in Surat. Anquetil, though he was under the protection of the English factory, was a little afraid of the situation.

A Mahomedan woman, who was his neighbour, one day talked with him in the Mahomedan language and told him (in January 1760) not to be afraid of the above event. She said: *hasté djo Feringui, i.e., "Oh! you European! be at ease!"* There, then passed a little chat and joke between Anquetil and the woman of the house who inquired of him where his wife was. They laughed, when he said he had no wife, being surprised that a young man should be without a wife. They then made inquiries about his Parsee servant. This incident leads Anquetil to say something about the Indian women, their dress and then about the public baths.

Anquetil now describes his further progress in his studies, and his visits to a Parsee fire temple and to the Parsee Towers of Silence at Surat. I will speak of these in my subsequent paper.

After referring to his visits to the Parsee towers, Anquetil gives a brief description of his visit to the Hindu burning-ground at Poulpara. He says, that the Parsees, while carrying the dead, said prayers with a low voice, the Hindus sang loudly. He then visits the temples of Mahadeo and Ganesh (Gonès) at Poulpara. He then describes a Hindu holiday, which, in that year, fell on 12th July 1760. It was a holiday, which he names, *Fête de Mouches, i.e., "The east of flies,"* when the people throw before their doors sugar, flour, &c., which

¹ lit. go laughing.

attract flies in large numbers. He describes the Pñjrapole, the Hindu institution for looking after sick animals, situated at Sakram-poura near Naosari Gate. He calls it a "hospital for animals" (Hôpital des animaux).

A short time after his visit to several Hindu institutions, there happened an incident (une petite aventure), which led him to lose his temper again and made him forget all his obligations to the English, who had helped him in his hour of need. He and his brother, who was now the Chief of the French factory at Surat, were for two days, in the end of July, in the French garden (Jardin Francois). For an important business, his brother had to go to the factory in the city at seven in the morning. An English guard of 200 native sepoys, while going to its post on one of the gates of the city, happened to pass on a narrow road between the two surrounding enclosures or walls of the city. The usual practise was, that in such cases, the European factors stopped and showed the politeness to let the guards pass. In this case, the guard consisted of all native sepoys without any English officer. So, the French Chief did not think it due to his honour to go aside and let the guard pass. The native sepoys did not give way, and their native officer even went to the extent of drawing his sword over some of the peons who accompanied the French Chief. Anquetil's brother, on going to his factory, complained to the English factory, and failing there, to the higher authorities at Bombay, but was told, that a guard, going to duty, cannot stop. The French had lost much of their former influence in India, having suffered many losses at the hands of the English. So, under these circumstances, Anquetil's brother now hardly left his French factory to go out. Anquetil says of himself, that he went out fully armed, ready to strike a blow with his sabre to the first Englishman who opposed his passage.

Anquetil says, that in September 1760, he finished all the work that concerned the Parsees and translated their books and prepared for a voyage, which had, he says, some connection both with the Parsees and the Hindus. He says, he had left his country to carry there back with him the Sacred Laws of the whole of Asia. The subject of the Parsees was finished, and he now thought himself to be strong enough to commence that of the Hindus. He was now on a look out for the four Vedas of the Hindus, and here, again, he had to seek the help of Muncherjee Sett, whose manuscript he had detained, and with whom he had quarrelled at one time. It appears, that Muncherjee, having once had a bitter experience in the matter of entrusting

manuscripts to Anquetil, sent a Parsee to him to say, that he would procure a copy of the Vedas to be seen and examined by him (Anquetil) at the French factory for one night, provided his brother stood a guarantee for Rs. 3,000. Anquetil says, that this was merely an attempt on the part of Muncherjee's Parsee messenger to create in him a false high estimate of the value of the books, since he did not understand the Sanskrit language. It seems, that in the end, the manuscripts of the Vedas were shown to Anquetil, who, in order to satisfy himself, showed them to some Seuras (Sciouras), a class of Hindu Brahmins, who told him, that the manuscripts did not constitute the whole (acho अचो) of the Vedas, but were extracts. He also consulted for their genuineness and completeness, some Parsees and Brahmins, who were in no way interested in the transaction of the sale, but who were versed in Sanskrit (habile dans le Samskretan).¹ They did not attach much importance to the manuscripts. The fact of Anquetil's consulting some Parsees in the matter of Sanskrit Vedas shows, that at that time, there were in Surat some learned Parsees who knew Sanskrit pretty well, if not much.*

Having come into contact with some Seuras and such other Brahmins, in the matter of this manuscript of the Vedas, Anquetil, in this connection, gives a short account of the Seuras, Jatis, Jogis, &c., who formed some of the classes of the Brahmins.

VIII.

JOURNEY IN THE SALSETTE.

Anquetil left Surat for a visit to the caves of Keneri and Elephanta on 18th November 1760. This long-thought-of tour

Anquetil on his way to Salsette. was hastened by the abovementioned incident with the English sepoys, which kept his brother confined

in his French factory, and which made Surat a decent prison (honnête prison) for him. He started with 4 sepoys and a Parsee domestic. The whole party, including his palanquin-bearers (Beras, Behras), consisted of 13 persons. He provided himself with papers, a compass, pistols, and two passports, one from the Nabob and the other from the Mahrathas. Anquetil describes his journey in details, the like of which we rarely see in the accounts of travellers. He passed along the villages and towns of Oodna, Bhesan, Lajpore, Pansra, Naosari which was then ruled over by Kedarnao Gaekwar, Gandevi and Bulsar, where he saw Pandero ghar (the fort of Pandero) from a distance. The place round Naosari was

¹ Vol. I, p. 336

* In a footnote in connection with this subject, Anquetil notes, that the Kadmi Norouz in that year 1760, fell on 18th September, and the Shaban bahi on 18th October (p. 368.)

infested with monkeys, which, at times, came to the town to carry away children. Gandevi was a dependency of the Mahratha Chief Damanji (Damaji Gaekwar) and had a bonded warehouse of the French factory. He passed along Vilimora (Bilimora), Tchikley and Varsal (Bulsar). While crossing the *naddi* (river) of Bulsar, he had to wait long as a Parsee had his horses on the ferry-boat that was running across the river. He had even to use some violence to prevent the Parsee from doing so and thus causing him a delay.

He arrived at Odouori (Udwara), situated on the shores of the sea, at 2-45 on 21st November 1760. He thus speaks of this town : " This town is inhabited only by the Parsees. One leaves on the right the houses, in the midst of which is the Derimgher which contains the Sacred Fire named Behram. This edifice is covered with a double roof lined with a penthouse (i.e., a shed slanting aslope from the main house). It has not from the exterior a form different from that of other houses. On the left of the road is a great pond. On the other side of Udwara, the road is alongside the sea. On the left, are situated beautiful orchards of cocoanut trees. At 3-30, he arrived at Kolek (Colek), which serves as the stud of the elephants of the Raja of Argingue. Crossing the Khari of Kolak, he entered the boundaries of Daman.

Anquetil then passed through small Daman, rested there for the night, crossed over to large Daman in the morning, and proceeded further, without seeing the town or its churches, as, with the downfall of the Portuguese power, the town had lost its influence. Proceeding further towards Nargol, he passed through a place abounding in plants called Kiovras (ફિવરી), which gives excellent odour and from which an essence is made. It is sold at a rupee and a quarter per tola. The reflection of the hot sand on the way made him very thirsty. The water, drunk for quenching the thirst, brought on cold and fever. His Parsee servant, whose name, as we learn later on, was Hirjee, took him to the house of an acquaintance, a rich Parsee. He was well received and passed the night there. Some cups of tea, and good rest and diet restored him a little. In his account of Nargol, he briefly refers to Sanjan (Sadjan), where he could not go owing to sickness.

He thus speaks of Sanjan : " It is the place of the settlement of the Parsees in Gujarat which is 3 kos in the south west of Nargol. At present this place is of little importance. Hardly a few Parsees are seen there. They all have come

from Nargol. Had my strength permitted me I would have been taken to this village. . . . I am contented with some details, which the Parsee, who received me in his house, gave me on the subject.

Anquetil left Nargol on 23rd November 1760, passed through Ombergam (Ommergaon) and Dehvier (Defer) and came to the *khari* of Gonvara. He passed through the village of Djan (in Jehan Bordi), over the *khari* of which there ran no boat, and the passengers had to wait till the time of the ebb to ford it and go to Bordi (Bordi in Jehan Bordi). Thence he went to Olouar (Golwad), and then to Dindou (Dehnu), which has a square fort consisting of 4 curtains guarded by four bastions. The fort was repaired by the Mahrathas to protect the inhabitants against the pirates.

Anquetil left Dindou (Dehnu) on 24th November 1760, arrived at Tchandoli, then at Tchitchen, and then at the fortress of Tarapore, which was repaired by the Mahrathas in an European fashion and which had a church dependent upon that of Dehnu. From Tarapore, he proceeded further to Tchikli to the *Khari* of Dopguer (Dubgar), and then to the *Khari* of Kalou, where lived an Indian saint. Proceeding further, he came to Mahim (Kevry Mahim), which had a fort and then to Agaccin, Dongri and Gantora (Dantora), from where he saw Bovamelangue (Bawa Malang), the place of the tomb of a Mahomedan saint. The people, when they see this tomb, recite the words "sounaké fedj roupeké palangue (બાવા મલંગ સોનાકે ફજ રૂપકે પલંગ), i.e., the matress of Bawa Malang is of gold and the bed of silver. One may infer from Anquetil's account ¹, that at that time, a gun was fired at Bombay at 5-30 a. m. in the morning. The sound was, at times, heard as far as Agaci, because, he says, he left this town just when the gun at Bombay was fired.

He arrived at Bassein (Basain), on 27th November 1760. This town had passed into the hands of the Mahrathas from the Portuguese in 1740. After Goa, this is the next beautifully situated town on the coast. From Bassein, he entered into the Salsette, which, from Gourhandel (Gorebunder) to Bandoura (Bandora), is 18 kos in length, and, from Tanin (Thana) to Maroia (Maravi), 14 to 15 kos in width. Almost all the towns are Christian. All the Portuguese monks and priests had retired to Goa, when the Mahrathas took the place. The remains of the Portuguese convents and churches were, after the departure of the Portuguese, occupied by Canarese priests under the inspection of a

Canarese Vicar General. Anquetil refers to the places of the Salsette like Daravi, Dongri, Ootan, Gori, Manora, Maroûa (Maravi). A basket of fruits from the Commander of Bassein, re-established, says Anquetil, his authority over his servants, one or two of whom had deserted. He personally did not like such presents.

Anquetil arrived at Ponjser on 28th November 1760, after a journey of 8 days, having left Surat on the 20th. He was the guest of the Curate of the Church of the convent of the Paulists (Jesuits), a man, who, being brought up in the habits of the natives of the place, took his meals with his fingers and drank arak or the strong country liquor. He found Anquetil's brandy too weak.

From Ponjser (Boisar), he went to see the temple caves of Djegueseri (Jogeshri) on 29th November 1760. Anquetil gives, as usual, a detailed description of the places on his way to the caves and of the cave temple itself. He went there *via* Pari (Pahdi), Gorgom (Goregaun) and Maledjas (Majas¹).

There was, in the great pagoda of the cave temple, a stone statue or idol, representing a sleeping bull on which the worshippers laid their offerings of oil. He asked his Parsee Irdji (Hirjee) servant to take it up, but he refused. One of his Mahomedan servants, who was less scrupulous, took it and placed it in his palanquin. Anquetil thought that this act was not seen by the worshippers. They, however, soon found that the idol was removed. They demanded it from the servants and looked into the palanquin. As it was hidden, they did not find it there, and Anquetil returned to Ponjser, exulting, that he was able to take a god to Europe. Later on, on his return to Europe, he presented it to M. le C. de Caylus, who had helped him in his early studies. He remarks: "Here is an instance how curiosity knows to colour criminal actions." Anquetil gives a plan of this pagoda, as well as that of the pagoda of Monpeser.

On returning to Ponjser, he went on the morning of 30th November 1760, to see the cave pagoda of Monpeser. A part of the caves had been utilized by the Portuguese. He entered into the darkest part of it with two torches in his peon's hand. It was feared, that the cave was frequented by tigers, especially in winter. The peons were armed

These villages now form part of the Goregaum Trust Estate of the late Mr. Baramjee Jejeebhoy, the seven villages of which are Goregaum, Pahdi, Mogra, Majas, Wohivra, Poiver and Bandoh. The Jogeshri caves referred to by Anquetil form a part of this Estate.

with sabres. He had a sabre in one hand and a saddle-pistol in the other. Having entered into the cave a little, he fired the pistol to frighten the tiger, if any there be in it. The echo in the cave frightened his peons who all ran away leaving him alone in the dark. But seeing no animal come out of it, they were reassured and returned to the cave with torches. The Christians of the place said, that a Franciscan marched into this cave for 7 days, and coming across a pit, he sent down a man with a cord. The man not returning, the Franciscan got frightened and returned. The Brahmans, says Anquetil, believed that the caves of Jogheshri, Monpeser and Kaneri were built by Alexander the Great. They attributed whatever required extraordinary force or strength to Alexander or to gods (Dews). The Christian church of Monpeser has a Portuguese inscription of 1590. The Mahrathas, after having destroyed this building, carried its timber to Thana. The Brahmans of this place call the Sanskrit letters Balbotes (Balbodh) and the current alphabets Mouris (Mori.)

In the afternoon of the 30th November 1760, Anquetil started for the caves of Kaneri. According to him, the word **The Kaneri Caves.** Kaneri meant pilgrimage. He describes at first the situation of the mountains which contain the caves and then the caves themselves. He says, he had to set fire to the wild foliage before entering some of the caves. At several places, he had to descend with the help of ropes and to mount over the shoulders of his peons.

Anquetil recommended, that the English, who, being at Bombay, were, as it were, at the door of the caves, might appoint a competent person to make plans and to make a sketch of all the figures. Such a work, he said, would be well received in Europe. He says, he was travelling in the time of war (between the English and the French) and was far away from the French factory. Again, his time and money were limited. So, he could not do much. He, however, took copies of the inscriptions which were 25 in number. Twenty-two of these were in Sanskrit and two of Mongous character. He, at first, thought of giving these inscriptions in his work of Zend-Avesta, wherein he has described his visit of the caves. But, as that was likely to delay its publication, he gave up the idea.

Anquetil remained at Kaneri for about 4 days. He had gone there on the evening of the 30th November and returned to Ponjser in the evening of 4th December 1760. He has given a detailed description of the cave which may be found worth-comparing with later descriptions.

Later investigations have brought to light some Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kaneri Caves. In 1866, Dr. (then Mr.) W.

The Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kaneri Caves. West submitted a Note, dated 5th May 1866, to the B. B. R. A. Society, drawing special attention of scholars to the Pahlavi inscriptions in the caves.

Five years before this, Dr. Bhau Daji had first drawn attention to them. It is strange, that Anquetil does not refer to them. He speaks a good deal of his knowledge of Pahlavi, in which, he says, he was able to write letters, and even to converse, but, I think, there is a good deal of exaggeration in this, as in several other matters referred to by him. This is shown by the fact, that during his visit to the caves, which lasted for about four days, he did not recognize the Pahlavi inscriptions. He seems to have visited the cave containing these inscriptions and seen the inscriptions themselves, but does not seem to have recognized the Pahlavi characters. In one place,¹ he thus speaks of the two inscriptions : " Two inscriptions which appear recent, each of 12 perpendicular lines, inscribed rather deep, and in character Mougous, over two pillars which form a part of the walls ; one, one foot high, and the other, 15 inches broad and high." I think, that these inscriptions (in cave 66 as numbered at present), which he speaks of as being in Mougous or Mongous characters, were Pahlavi. He did not know Pahlavi sufficiently well to recognize the characters. Of course, he cannot be expected to decipher them in a running visit, but one expects that he ought to have known them as Pahlavi.

Now what is the word Mougous ? In one place,² he gives the word as Mongous. In the index also, he gives the word as Mougous. I think the word Mougous is correct and is the same as the Parsee word Magu or Magous, the Greek Magi. It seems, that he was properly informed by the guide or guides at the caves, that the character were those of the Magous or Magis, but he did not properly understand the word to take it for the characters of the Persian Magi or Mobads. He speaks of the two inscriptions as each being of 12 lines, and we know that the Pahlavi inscriptions are of 12 lines.³

He left Ponjser on the morning of 5th December 1761, for Elephanta.

The journey towards Kurla. The services of his Parsee servant Irdji.

His description of that part of the Salsette, through which he came over to Trombay on the northern side of our harbour to take over a boat from there for Elephanta, will be found very interesting for comparing the present and the then topography of the places. He names places, passed through every half

¹ Vol. 1., p. 404.

² P. 395.

³ Vide Mr. K. R. Cama's *Jarthashti Abhyās*, p. 146.

an hour, or quarter of an hour, and even every 10 minutes. He passed through Jogheshri, Kondati (present Kondita) and Marole, which he calls a town of middle-sized grandeur (*de moyenne grandeur*) with a pretty good church (*Eglise assez jolie*), dependant on Kondita. Most of the churches of Salsette had, at that time, Canarese priests. The Christian priests in this part of the Salsette received their payments from their congregation in kind—in *Mautegue de beurre* (perhaps *ಗ್ರೀನಿ ಹಬ್ಬ*), sacks of rice and packets of cheeroots. He arrived *via* Moili (Maval) at Carlin (Kurla) at 11 a. m. The Vicar-General of Salsette lived at Coorla. He was addicted to drinking arak. Here, the carriers of his palanquin wanted to desert him. His Parsee servant Irdji (Hirjee), of whom he speaks as his faithful servant (*mon fidele domestique*), intervened and represented to them, that they were bound to take Anquetil back to Surat and pointed out the consequences of deserting him there; but to no effect. Anquetil thought of ending this mutiny among his servants by pointing his pistol to one of the bearers who was most obstinate. This firmness had the desired effect.

Anquetil then passed by several villages such as Colegam, Sourim, Gansla, Goren, Dakliman and Aivela. He arrived at Trombay at noon on 6th December 1761. In two hours, he crossed over by boat Galipouri (Elephanta).

The native name of Elephanta is Galipouri (Garipouri), which, according to Anquetil, seems to mean a group of *gali* (mountains, Sanskrit *giri*). On landing there, he at once proceeded to see the pagodas which had no inscriptions, but had only the names of Portuguese and English visitors. He found several of the idols broken. The reason was, that the Portuguese, at first, shut them up firmly with plasters. The Mahrathas then removed these strong plasters by gun-shots which damaged some of the idols. Thereupon, they ceased further using the guns and used other implements. Anquetil stayed there for the night, and on 7th December, saw the rest of the caves. Among several things, he saw a large stone elephant which gave the caves its English name. The stone elephant carried a small child over its shoulders.

On his return journey, he took the way *via* Thana. He, at first, went to Schevan or Karandja and then back to Trombay, which had then, two churches in ruins and a bastion. From Trombay, he went to Thana by boat. He was well received by the priest there. The Mahrathas, on taking Thana, had permitted the Christians to possess some of their churches and had given great liberty to follow their religion. So, they

celebrated their feasts there very freely as at Goa and had their religious processions not only unmolested but respected by the natives.

The day after his arrival, *viz.*, 8th December was the day of the Conception of the Virgin and they celebrated it with a feast. He was pressed to sing the Credo the next day and he did so. He had often played a medical man in his travels, but this was the first time that he had to play a musician. All the Christian priests feasted in the native fashion. They were all poorly dressed. There was a good deal of confusion. All ate with their hands. He all along philosophized over the scene.

On the 8th, he paid a visit to the Mahratha Governor of Thana at his bungalow (Bangāla). The consideration which the Governor showed him had some effect upon his servants who all were tired with his long journey. He gave to the Governor a small *sagvāde* (सगद सगवत), *i.e.*, a present. Here, he caught fever on the 9th and had to live on tea for 3 days. On recovering a little, he occupied himself in copying fair a part of the rough draft of (the notes of) his voyage while the different objects were still fresh in his memory.

He left Thana on 16th December. He took, with some difference, well-nigh the same route as on his coming to Salsette. At Agaçin, they celebrated a feast of the Church of the place where people moved about as freely as in a Christian State. On all days, other than the feast days, the Canarese priests had a routine way of life—the mass, the breviary, cheroot, the zopi of distilled *arak*, the curry and the afternoon siesta. He had off and on attacks of fever till he came to Gandevi where he got rid of the fever.

Anquetil thus describes his visit to Naosari on his return journey :
 Visit to Naosari. "When I arrived at Naosari, I sent a request to Dastur Jamshéd to see me in the garden where I had to pass the night. My reputation had run to this town. This Dastur came at 10 in the evening. We talked in Persian and Pahlavi. He avowed before me, that Darab was the most able Dastur in India, and assured me that he had no longer the Nirangestan, which was brought from Kerman by Jamasp. The conversation ended with reciprocal marks of friendship, and he promised to write to me to Surat. This, he did, after several months, in Pahlavi and Persian. Anquetil's statement that he talked and corresponded with Dastur Jamshed in Pahlavi is a great exaggeration. It is not correct, because Pahlavi was not a spoken language in India at any time.

IX.

RETURN TO SURAT. LAST FEW MONTHS.

Anquetil's return-journey to Surat took 8 days. His brother was pleased to see him back. He says of himself, that the recollection of the trouble and difficulties of the road made him shed tears which his friends wiped off. Four days of rest restored him to health.

He was again taken ill, but was restored to health ; but his weakness made him renounce his desire to go to Benares and China. Even if his health had not frustrated his desires, the state of French affairs brought on a state of despair. Pondicherry was besieged by the English. So, all help from that place was failing. The Surat factory had not received, for years, funds from the Chief factor. His brother was hardly able to help himself, and so, could incur no expense for him (Anquetil) What to do under these circumstances ?

According to his statement, made at the time of the above despair, he had collected about 180 manuscripts of almost all the languages of India. In this collection, there were many Parsee books. In the latter, there were two copies of the works of Zoroaster and of a part of Pahlavi books. He had Sanskrit texts about 300 years old, in his translation of some works of Zoroaster. He had a collection of the instruments of the religion of the Parsees. Therefore, under the circumstances of affairs in India, he thought it advisable, for the sake of this valuable collection, to return to France.

He, at first, asked the Swedes, who had now begun trading with Surat to give him a passage. They had a ship, carrying 60 guns, which was to start for Europe in March 1761, *via* China. The voyage would have been dilatory, but it would have had some advantages. (a) He would have had time to get down on the coast of Malabar and made some further researches and inquiries there. (b) He would have got down at Canton and visited a part of China and Tibet, sending away his books and papers by a French boat which he might have come across there. But the Swedish authorities refused to give him a passage, because, as their ship had to touch Bombay, they did not like to injure the displeasure of the English there by having a Frenchman on their boat. He then sought the aid of the Dutch or the Hollanders. They also refused to give him a passage in their ship. They said, that they

took no foreigner on board their vessel except in the capacity of a sailor, boat-swain's mate, &c. But, he thought, that under this pretence, lay hid the real cause, *viz.*, that of not displeasing the English. Then there were Portuguese frigates, which went to Basrah from where he could find a vessel going to France. But he did not like these as they were very slow, and there was no guarantee in them about the security of the luggage of the passengers. There were some native vessels of the Baniyas, Arabs or Persians who lived in Surat, and who traded with Basrah. But they also could not give a passage without the permission of the English.

So in the end, he thought of turning to the English, whom he calls the enemy of his nation, and whom he, at the same time, calls generous. They had once protected him but, after the incident of his brother with their sepoy-guard, he had turned ungrateful to them, even to the extent of being prepared to use his pistol towards the first Englishman whom he met and who disputed his right which he thought his brother was deprived of. It was the tear of the English, resulting from this ungrateful conduct and ungrateful thoughts, which, though he does not say that, seems to have kept him away from visiting Bombay, though he was, as it were, at its very door, when he visited Elephanta Caves.

He was sure, that the English, though they were the enemy of his country, were generous and would give him a passage in one of their vessels; but it was a delicate point to approach them. But a certain event emboldened him to seek their protection at once. It was the receipt of a letter by his brother from Mahi, which said, that the new husband of the lady, whose first husband he had killed in a duel, as referred to above, wanted to proceed against him and to take him to Pondicherry and even to Europe to seek for justice. So, he at once thought of placing himself again under the protection of the generous English and asked for a passage in one of their ships. This was given him and he received an official intimation to that effect in February 1761.

But now arose the difficulty of providing for the passage money for the English ship going to Europe. The French Want of passage money. factory had not paid him, for nearly a year, his fixed instalment. The factory had no money. News had come, in the meanwhile, of the fall, into the hands of the English, of Pondicherry, the principal settlement of the French in India. The news created a stir among the people at Surat, in whose further low estimation the French now fell. As said above, the merchants there had

expected, that the French factory would make good the losses they had sustained in the capture by the French of the ship *Fez Salem*. But now, the news of the fall of Pondicherry led them to the fear of all loss of power and influence by the French in India and thus to the despair of any chance of repayment.

But the ingenuity of both the brothers met the difficult situation for finding the passage money. There was a French merchant, M. Boucart, who lived under the protection of the English. He owed some money to the French factory. Seeing now that the French had lost Pondicherry, he argued that there was no French Company existing in India and refused to pay his debt to the factory. No threats could prevail upon him. Among the different promissory notes that he had given to the French factory, Anquetil found one of Rs. 4,000, that was passed particularly to, or in the personal name of, "M. Anquetil, Chief of the French Factory of Surat." Anquetil's brother did not waste time to show, that though Pondicherry had fallen the French Company still continued, but he quietly transferred that promissory letter or note of M. Boucart, to the name of Anquetil, in return for the money due from the factory to him as his actual stipend and as a payment for his passage money. Anquetil and M. Boucart both being under the protection of the English, Anquetil passed on or transferred that note to the English Council of Surat. After some negotiations with the English factory at Surat and the English authorities at Bombay, who all along wished to help him, Anquetil succeeded in making the English factory impress upon M. Boucart, that he should pay Rs. 4,000. This result relieved Anquetil of the difficulty of the passage money.

When he was on the point of starting from Surat, the Dasturs lodged a complaint against him in the English factory, saying, that he had not paid them for the goods. His last regret for the Dasturs. manuscripts he had purchased from them. They prayed for a detention of his goods. Their prayer was granted. He began finding fault with them, and said that all the mischief was due to Dastur Kaus. However, the English authorities saw the truth of the complaint. His own brother also seems to have seen that, because he stood as a security for the payment. Anquetil was then allowed to depart. After all the several allegations against the Dasturs in this and other matters, his conscience led him, as it were, to make amends at the last moment. Just before starting, he said : " I was moved to find myself, in (a condition of) impossibility to know the services of my servants, of the people of the factory, of the interpreter Manockjee, and also to recognize, as I believed they merited, the Dasturs Dorah and Kuas, whose bad behaviours I had already forgotten."

X.

DEPARTURE FROM SURAT—ARRIVAL IN BOMBAY.

Anquetil arrived at Bombay on 16th March 1761 and stayed here till 28th April. Anquetil's account of Bombay, about 150 years ago, will be found interesting by many. The following subjects draw our special attention in this account :—

1. The limits of Bombay began then, as now, at Mahim. Lengthwise it was two hours' drive and breathwise an hour and a half's.
2. Cocoonut and bamboo trees formed a principal source of revenue, and, at the same time, gave beautiful shade. But the putrid fish used for manure rendered the climate unhealthy. The fear of an invasion by the French, with whom the English were then at war, had led to the cutting off of a number of trees around the city for the purpose of its better protection, because the city was not well fortified.¹
3. The fort was not well protected. The principal strength of the city was in its harbour. The strength of the English lay in their sea-defence, wherein everything was in "an admirable order" (*un ordre admirable*.)
4. Commerce was the chief element for the richness of the people.
5. The General, who presided at the Councils, had a palace in the city but rarely resided there. He lived at Parel in a large house with terraces and gardens. At first, this house was a church. This is a reference to the Parel Government house.
6. The second Councillor, next to the General, had a house that was well situated over a kind of rock commanding the sea, which served as a landmark to incoming vessels. The big folk of the city met there as a rendezvous after dinner, to take tea. This is a reference to the Malabar Point and the Government house there.
7. Anquetil, thus speaks of the situation of Bombay : "Bombay," placed between Moka, Basra, Surat and the Malabar Coast, is, what it is, only by its situation and its port. But, if the English found the means to get the Salsette given to them by the Mahrathas, then, independently of the revenue of this island, Bombay could become one of the most beautiful settlements in India, on account of all the charms

¹ This fact seems to account for the large open spaces we see, or rather saw some years ago, before they were built upon as now, between the Fort and the F. C. Institute on the one hand and the Crawford Market on the other.

of life which one finds in the Salsette and which would recompense for the dryness and sterility of this premier island."

8. The passage money from Bombay to Europe at that time was about Rs. 1,000.

In Bombay, he was the guest of Mr. Spencer, the Commissioner of Marine. He heard from him, that at Anyingue
 Trial by ordeal. in Malahar, they resorted to a trial by ordeal. When a person was accused of theft or any other crime, if he denied that crime, they compelled him to put his hand in boiling oil. The hand was then at once shut up in a sac, fastened to his wrist by strings, over which the English judge placed the seal of the Company. After some days, they opened the sac and if the hand of the accused was found uninjured he was set free as innocent.

Some time before departure, Anquetil began to entertain some doubts which serve as an instance of his suspecting nature.
 Final arrangements for departure from Bombay. Doubts at the last moment. He said to his host, Mr. Spencer, that he had lost in Bengal the copy of the first lines of the Zend manuscript of Oxford, which he had brought from Europe. So, he did not know, if the manuscripts he had acquired at Surat contained the equal of it. Mr. Spencer helped him to be in a position to ascertain that matter and he asked him to keep the matter secret. He arranged, that Anquetil may be given a passage with the Captain of the ship Bristol which was ready to sail. Mr. Spencer paid to the Captain Rs. 1,000 for the passage money and gave Anquetil Rs. 1,200 in hard cash and in bills on Mr. Hough, his correspondent in London. These sums were given in advance of the total amount of the letter or promissory note of M. Boucart, referred to above. Anquetil endorsed that note and gave it to Mr. Spencer on account of the war then prevailing. Anquetil assured Mr. Spencer, that in the papers that he carried there were none relating to State affairs. The English Company's seal was placed upon his things.

XI.

(C) LIFE AFTER DEPARTURE FROM INDIA.

Anquetil left Bombay on 28th April 1761. There were with him on board the vessel several French officers, as prisoners
 Journey homeward. of war, whom the fleet had taken captives on the Coromandel Coast. His ship halted for some days at Onor (perhaps Honavar) and anchored at Tellichery on 5th May 1761.

He complains of the conduct of Mr. Quicke, the Captain of the vessel, and of the food which he was given. Landing at Tellicherry, he went to Mahi on a chair carried by four persons. Here, he received through Father Claude, a letter, dated 10th March 1760, from M. l'Abbè Barthelemi, in reply to his of 4th April 1759, informing the Abbè, that he had finished the translation of the first Fargard (Chapter) of the Vendidad. In that letter, M. Abbè Barthelemi advised Anquetil to draw out from the Dasturs all possible light, which they can give, on ancient Persia, till he translated the whole of the manuscript attributed to Zoroaster. This letter contained also a note from M. le Comte de Caylus, dated 10th March 1760, in which he specially recommended Anquetil to translate the work of Zoroaster.¹ On returning to Tellicherry, he met the Engineer, the second husband of the lady referred to in the matter of the duel he had at Surat. The Engineer, says Anquetil, regretting his former letter, sought his friendship.

He left Tellicherry on 15th May 1761. Anquetil renews his complaint against the Captain, saying, that though he had paid him 100 louis² for the passage money, he gave him very bad food. Among the passengers, was an Asiatic lady, born at Pondichery, the wife of a French officer, who seemed to be one of the French prisoners on board the vessel. She accompanied her husband to Europe.

We learn from other sources that there were many matrimonial advances of this kind among Europeans and Asiatics in those times, and it appears from Anquetil's account of her treatment by the other French passengers, that the lady was well treated, and there was no dislike or social disapproval of such a marriage, then. Anquetil's account of the treatment of the passengers by the Captain seems, on its face, to be greatly exaggerated. He seems to have been a man of peculiarly bad temper. At first, he says, that for nearly a month and a half, the food being bad, he ate nothing, so much so, that even his voice fell. In a fit of anger, he once threw the chocolate, which the Captain gave him and which he did not like, on his face. The Captain, whom he represents as wanting in bravery, only walked off and appeased his anger as it were, on the deck. One cannot believe, that an English Captain in charge of a ship carrying French prisoners on board would put up with such a conduct. There seems to be some exaggeration herein also. This scene, he says, stirred up his sense for the good, and the vexation that he received, re-activated his courage. He now began eating anything that was given him with the help of pepper and salt.

¹ P. 439, 1.

² A little above, the passage money was said to be Rs. 1,000.

He adds : " My stomach indulged in this kind of fury. The Captain had the grief to see that the bones filled with salted and half putrid flesh, went back from our table, more dry than the planks of his ship. This devouring appetite gave uneasiness to my friends, but nothing could keep me back. My strength came back." The tone of Anquetil's version, and the details he enters into in all the matters of his meals, show the temper of the man. After all, it appears, that it was his own mental condition that had, at first, weakened him, and, at last, strengthened him. The food, if it was bad at all, was bad all along. But it was his discontent and bad temper that reduced his strength, and it was the reaction, contentment towards what was given him as food, that revived his strength. One cannot properly understand Anquetil complaining of the food he got on the ship—flesh, bread, biscuits, chocolate, arak, &c. We saw, that, as he himself has said in his previous description, for days together, he lived on mere khichery,—a diet of cooked rice and *dal*,—as he could not afford to get better food. A man on such a diet cannot be expected to be reduced in strength or famished on the food he got in the ship.

During the voyage, on 19th July, they saw at a distance a vessel which was taken to be hostile, and the Captain, thought of confining Anquetil and the French soldiers into the hold of the vessel and of throwing off their boxes into the sea, but the vessel soon disappeared. Anquetil says, he would have sooner liked to throw himself into the sea than to go to France without his papers. On the evening of the same day, they were overtaken by a very severe storm. In that emergency, Anquetil speaks of the Captain, whom, he had, in his above version of the food dispute, called neither brave nor patient (*ni brave ni endurant*)¹ as a "good sailor, not baffled, though danger was seen on his face."² This shows that Anquetil's judgments about men were at times not well-founded, but were prejudiced according to his whims, fury or temper. At the end of the journey, he says, he presented the remnants of the provisions he had taken from St. Helena on the voyage to the Captain, who he says, was not ashamed to have them.

They arrived at St. Helena on 25th August 1761. There was on the island at that time M. Masculine (Mr. Maskelyne), an astronomer, who was sent from England to observe from there the transit of Venus, which had occurred on 6th June and which Anquetil had observed from the ship during the voyage. Anquetil invited the astronomer to dinner. Mr. Maskelyne, during the course of the dinner, left the table several times and

Arrival at St. Helena. His improper conduct in making satirical remarks about a guest.

¹ P. 442. ² P. 444.

went out to observe the sky, and, returning to table, took his drink. This led Anquetil to make in his account some remarks which seem to be as undignified, or rather low, as those which he made in his account of the dispute with the Captain of the ship about the food he got. Mr. Beveridge very properly says on this subject. "The satirical account which he gives of Maskelyne's behaviour at table is a thing, which, even if true, gentlemanly feeling should have prevented Du Perron, as one of his hosts, from describing."¹

XII.

STAY IN ENGLAND.

His ship left St. Helena on 10th September and arrived at Portsmouth on 17th November 1761. He was treated at first like the other French war-prisoners. He resented that. It was arranged that he may be sent direct to France with other prisoners. The box containing his manuscripts was sent to the Custom House. He says that the letters of the Council of Bombay seemed to have no value. He wrote to his people and to his friends at Paris about this state of affairs. He also wrote to Minister Pitt, Earl of Chatham. He was sent to Wickham (Wykham), about 12 miles from Portsmouth on 20th November, having first seen that his manuscripts were in good order at the Custom House. At Wickham, he was assisted with money by Mr. Garnier. The whole time he was there, he was much anxious about his manuscripts at the Custom House, where they were in a damp low place, that month of December being very rainy. With the help of Mr. Garnier, he was permitted to go to Portsmouth to bring from there his manuscripts which he found there in good condition. But he was prevented from taking them to Wykham. He was then asked to go to France with other French soldiers, but he objected to do so before going to Oxford, as he had specially taken the English boat from India with the object of visiting Oxford and had thus found himself in this plight.

Anquetil had written from Wykham on 27th November and 23rd December 1761, to the Secretary of the Royal Society at London, requesting him to send him the copy of the first leaves of the manuscript of (the writings of) Zoroaster at Oxford. He heard in reply on 7th January 1761, that the Royal Society had no control over the University of Oxford and that the

¹ "Calcutta Review," Vol. CIII, October 1896, p. 298 note.

University would not permit any of its manuscripts to go out to such a distance, *i.e.*, to London or to Wykham. The Secretary wanted to know the circumstances under which he was detained; so that he may do something to facilitate his visit to Oxford. Anquetil had arranged to go to Oxford before this letter, which came in, a long time after he wrote. However, this letter pleased him to know, that there was an appreciation of letters in all nations. After some correspondence with various scholars and authorities, and armed with several letters of introduction, he left Wykham on 14th January 1761, with some Hindu manuscripts and three beautiful manuscripts of ancient Persian which he intended to place in the Bibliothèque du Roi of Paris, *vis.*, the Vendidad Sadeh, the Vendidad Zend and Pahlavi, and the volume containing Zend and Sanskrit Yazashne and the Yashts Sadeh. He took these with him, with a view to show his riches to those whose treasures he wanted to see. Anquetil refers to the difficulty of travelling in rain in those days which were the days of travelling by coaches. He says, that in France, while travelling by carriage, only the horses were changed frequently at each stage, but in England, they changed carriages also. Travellers were stopped at turn-spikes, which came every two miles, where you had to pay half a shilling or a shilling. He arrived at Oxford on 17th January 1761, taking three days to travel from Wykham near Portsmouth to Oxford. Anquetil's description of Oxford shows, that it was then, about 150 years ago, what it is now, "a town composed of colleges, professors, students and of servants, merchants and workmen, employed in the service of the colleges, in such a way, that in summer, when the professors and the students are there in a very small number, it is well-nigh deserted." But that is the proper season to see conveniently the public buildings which are very beautiful.

He first saw Mr. Swinton, a learned scholar, and went with him to see Dr. Barton, the Canon of Christ's College and

A visit to the Bodleian Library. a member of the Society of Antiquities. He was not at home. So they went to the Bodleian

Library, where he saw the manuscript of the Vendidad Sadeh fastened with a chain in a special place. As it was very cold then, he wanted to take it with him to his inn to compare it conveniently with his manuscript, but that was refused. So, he went there again the next day, 18th January, and examined the manuscript of the Vendidad Sadeh for an hour and copied the account (Notice) written in Zend characters on it. He gave it to the Librarian, who had a copy of it, which was less exact and wherein the name of the book Djed dew dad (*i.e.*, the Vendidad) was taken to be that of the author.

After having assured himself, that the manuscripts, which he had taken from Surat, were of the same sort as that of the Bodleian, he liked to see the manuscripts of Dr. Hyde and Frazer, which were in charge of Dr. Hunt, Professor of Arabic. He was called at 3 o'clock. He went for dinner to Dr. Barton's, where they drank a toast for the success of the works of Zoroaster (on but au bon succès des ouvrages de Zoroastre).¹ They talked of securing closer relations between the French and English scholars. Anquetil was told by them, that he was the first French scholar who had gone to Oxford purely for the progress of human knowledge.

He then went to Dr. Hunt, Professor of Arabic, accompanied by Dr. Barton and Dr. Swinton. He says "while walking through the court of the College of Christ, I could not help smiling at the figures of my two guides. Dr. Swinton, all gathered together in his robe, the head lowered and covered with a wretched bonnet broad in three corners, had all the air of an agent of the University. Dr. Barton, grand and well-made, walked by a few steps before him, letting float gravely a handsome robe, whose front foreparts, lined with satin, matched with a bonnet of velvet, of which the frontal point lowered over the forehead of the Doctor, gave him a very haughty look. Add to this, the turning of the head to the right and to the left like that of a man, who admires himself in regulating his walk, and you will have the picture of a rich English Canon." He found Dr. Hunt also rapped up in his robe. Dr. Hunt produced before him the manuscript of the Virâf-nameh and the Sad-dar from Dr. Hyde's collection. The manuscript contained modern Persian in Zend characters.² The Doctor, having learnt Zend letters by means of Zend and Persian alphabets in a manuscript of the Nyaisheh, read this modern Persian, and believed, that it was old Persian. He, therefore, said to Anquetil, that he knew old Persian. Anquetil corrected him saying, that what he knew was only modern Persian, which, instead of being written in Arabic or Persian characters, was written in Zend (Avesta) characters. Anquetil showed him his manuscripts and he could read nothing. Anquetil told him what he had heard from Dastur Shapur³ (at Surat), that Mr. Frazer had carried to England some manuscripts of this kind. Frazer spoke modern Persian a little, but did not know Zend or Pahlavi. Dr. Hunt was surprised on finding Anquetil so well

¹ P. 499 ² Vide Dr. Hyde's *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*, 2nd Edition, of 1760, pp. 14, 17 and 18 for this

³ He is Dastur Shapurjee Manockjee Sanjana (1735-1805), the writer of the *Kisseh-i-Zar-tushtian-i-Hindustân* (vide my book "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," p. 45).

informed and went to search for Frazer's manuscripts, which he found, just as Anquetil had described them on the authority of his information from Shapur. Anquetil adds :

" My manuscripts struck Dr. Hunt and he said, no doubt in joke, that being a Justice of the Peace of Oxford, he could get me arrested for the incident (at Surat) which made him run into the English factory and (then) retain my manuscripts. Annoyed at this reflection, I told him, I was not afraid, and that he would be responsible for the manuscripts to the English Minister (Mr. Pitt), and to the King of France to whom (the acquisition of) those books was announced. This sharp rejoinder accompanied with a scornful look changed the conversation. We both were in the wrong ; the Doctor (was wrong) in touching this cord in the position in which I was, and I in taking his words literally. All this passed away very honestly." ¹

Anquetil then saw Mr. Frazer's collection of about 250 volumes which also was with Dr. Hunt. He found therein some well-known Persian books like *Rozat-us-Safâ*, the *Shah-nameh*, *Tarikh-i-Tabari*, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, *Akbar-nameh*, *Mirât-i-Sikandari*, an abridged *Barzour-nameh*, the *Zitch of Olough Beg*. He found no Pahlavi book.

We see in the above account of Anquetil's visit to Dr. Hunt, further instances of his queer conduct, want of good manners, and bad temper bordering on ungratefulness. He speaks very slightly of his hosts. Dr. Swinton had been very kind to him and had acted as his guide for two days. Anquetil had embraced him when he parted. The gaits of walking of Dr. Swinton and Dr. Barton and the appearance of their robes made him smile and he speaks rather discourteously of them. The manner in which he describes his visit to Dr. Hunt is worse than the above. He himself says, that Dr. Hunt simply said in joke, that he would get him arrested as a Justice of the Peace and take possession of his manuscripts, but he took that literally and talked with him and looked at him scornfully. As said by Mr. Beveridge², it were such observations " which probably stirred up the youthful Sir William Jones to write his fierce letter to Du Perron" ³ The late Professor Darmesteter said on this point that William Jones, a young Oxonian then " had been wounded to the quick by the scornful tone adopted by Anquetil towards Hyde and a few other English scholars. The *Zend-Avesta* suffered for the fault of the introducer, Zoroaster for Anquetil." ⁴ William Jones ran down both Anquetil and the *Avesta*.

¹ P. 461.

² " *Calcutta Review*," Vol. 103, October 1896, p. 298.

³ S. B. E. Vol. IV, 1st ed., Introduction, p. XV.

Anquetil left Oxford on 19th January 1762 and arrived at Wickham on the 21st. England was then at war with France, and his account of what he saw then reminds us of the present war. Things were very dear. At Winchester, he paid 3 francs for a cup of coffee, but perhaps that was due to his taking it in a fashionable place. Half of England had remained uncultivated. In the villages, he saw only old men, marriageable girls, children under 12 years of age, but very few men of 40 years and fewer young boys. They all must have gone out to fight.

From Wickham he went to London, where he arrived on 31st January 1761. At first, he stayed at a rich tavern, where, being a Frenchman, he was not well looked at. He afterwards removed to the house of Mr. Garnier (Junior) in Pall-mall. Those were the days, when, instead of many hackney carriages, sedan-chairs were seen in London to carry persons from one place to another. Except some places of the Pallmall, the quarters of the Court, London was not paved. The middle of the streets were a sea of mud (*mer da boue*), the stones in the midst of which were to carriages, what rocks in the sea were to ships. There were paved footpaths of only about three feet, which also were often covered with water and where pedestrians were often bruised by the batons of sedan-chairs that passed over it.

Anquetil says, that "learning in England is on a footing different from that in France. Paris is the centre of learning, and the relations, which all professions have with one another in this great city, remove from the men of letters the rudeness which results from the dry and sombre study in a study room. In England, the title of Doctor given, to all the savants makes a separate corps of them which has all the pedantry of learning. Most of them reside in the towns of Oxford and Cambridge, the air of which, a mile all round, appears to be impregnated with Greek, Latin and Hebrew. Sometimes they go to London, where the inhabitants, mostly traders or persons dealing with commerce or the marine, look at them for their amusement, and believe, that they pay them well by giving them a good repast. Useful inventions, *i.e.*, those relating to commerce or the marine—these are what gives respect in this city to a savant. And again what respect? The true Englishman said: 'I have a fortune and I spend it as I like. The Militaries and the Marines make honest servants on wages, to augment my riches and to assure me of pleasure. The savants and the artists amuse me.' Thus, in England, the titles of literature which

are well spoken of in other States of Europe, have little value beyond the two Universities."

Anquetil saw the Museum of London, which, he says, was the principal literary institution of London, situated in the most beautiful mansion of London, Montague Mansion, which however cannot stand well in comparison with a mansion of the second order in Paris. The Museum was under the direction of 8 savants. The principal librarian, Dr. Knight, got 200 guineas (per year) and three assistant librarians, 100 guineas each. Anquetil was not pleased with the Museum, which contained nothing astonishing. Among the manuscripts in this library, he found none extraordinary, except a Greek Dictionary of the 10th century in uncial ¹ letters, and an Alexandrine manuscript of the Septuagint. He thought, that in Paris, the London Museum, as he then saw it, would pass for a private cabinet or collection. In the Museum, M. Morton, who was known for his publication of the tables of Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and other alphabets of different ages, pretended to possess all Zend alphabets, but Anquetil showed him his error, pointing out, that the letters were different from Zend alphabets.

Among the worth-seeing places of London which he saw, he names the following: St. Paul, Westminster Hall, Westminster Church, Westminster Bridge, St. James' Palace, Waux Hall, and play-houses. He speaks of no place of visit in an appreciative way. He finds most of what he saw inferior to similar things in France.

Anquetil refers with dislike to a custom then prevalent. A guest had to pay to all the domestic servants of his host, whenever he went for a repast. Speaking ² of the different classes of people, whose life, he said, he would have further liked to study if he had time, he says of women in their plays or sports (*femmes au jeu*), that they passed well-nigh the whole night, among themselves, while their husbands hunted foxes or were in Baginotage. He speaks rather slantingly of English women. This was, because, as Mr. Beveridge said, he was more of a misogynist. He says of the daughter of the clergymen, that on their father's death they fill up the public places of London. As to the character of English women on their

¹ "Uncial letters" are letters of a peculiar character, large in size, midway between capital and small letters. They were used from the 2nd to the 10th century.

² P. 471.

estates, he says, they often passed whole months alone, occupied, either in reading or given up to some romantic love. He says of Englishmen that "the same Englishman whom you see civil in Paris is another man in London. He is unrecognizable on his estate." He says, he left the city very little biased in favour of the people who were enthusiastic for three things :

1. A Parliament which was susceptible of weaknesses and passions.
2. A Minister, who received a large annuity from the Court, and 3. The Exchange, where they deposited all their wealth, to such an extent, that a man, commanding a revenue of 50,000 francs (livres), had not 50 louis (a coin worth 19 sh.) in his house, pays his baker by bills on the Exchange, without reflecting, that the diminution in the credit of the nation and the delay of one year or two in the receipt of interests would suffice to overthrow all the wealth of England, where everything that is necessary for life is very dear on account of the real abundance of money.

It is possible that the above low estimate of Anquetil of the esteem, in which learning was held in England, and his low estimate of English Society displeased and excited young William Jones against him.

XIII.

RETURN TO PARIS.

Departure from
London and
arrival at Paris.

Anquetil left London on 12th February 1762, pleased to be out of the odour of gloomy coal, in which the city is wrapped for 8 months.

He arrived at Ostend on 6th March and at Paris on 14th March. He deposited the books of Zoroaster and other manuscripts, the very next day, i.e., on 15th March 1762, in the Bibliothèque de Roi. He was still an youth of 30. His fame spread quickly and he was sought after by many distinguished persons.

A few events of
the life of Anque-
til after his return
to Paris.

Anquetil, on his return to Paris, continued his studies to prepare for the publication of his Zend-Avesta. He was elected a member of L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belle Lettres, in 1765. In 1771, he published the three volumes of his Zend-Avesta, which was, as said by Larouse in his Dictionary, "an event in the History of Orientalisme" (époque dans l'histoire de l'Orientalisme). In 1775, he published his "Legislation Orientale." In 1786, he published

his "Recherches Historiques et Geographiques sur l'Inde," and in 1798, "L'Inde en rapport avec l'Europe." In 1804, he published his *Oupa Khet* (Upanishad). It is a translation in Latin of an abridged version of the Vedas. M. Larousse gives us an instance of his eccentricity even in old age. He was reduced to much poverty in his old age. The French Government and some of the learned Societies of Paris offered to help him, but he refused that help, and moved about in such a miserable condition, that passers by took him for a beggar and offered him alms.

It seems, that on the return of Anquetil to Paris, some persons raised the question, as to who can be called the first introducer and translator of the Zend-Avesta. Some said, that Dr. Hyde was the first, and others that it was M. Otter. Anquetil writes, at some length, to show, that he was the real pioneer in the matter.

Anquetil on the question as to who first carried Parsee books to Europe and who first translated them.

From the study of Anquetil's account of his travels and sojourn in India, one is in a position to form an estimate of his character.

An estimate of Anquetil's character, formed from his writings.

1. The first thing that strikes us was his want of steadiness. He did not make full use of the time he spent in India for his Iranian studies, for which he had specially come to India. (a) At Chandarnagar, he thought of giving up the idea of going to Surat for study and of joining the Church with the Jesuits. (b) While there, at one time, he thought of going to Benares to study Sanskrit but soon gave up that idea. (c) On his return to Pondicherry from Bengal, he thought of giving up his studies and of returning to Europe. (d) At one time, he thought of going over to China and Tibet, but gave up that idea on his return from the journey in Salsette. It was, he said, the fatigue of the journey that made him do so. But, he thought of it again, when arranging for a return journey to Europe by a Swedish ship.

2. He was a man of rather bad temper and, as his compatriot in the Dictionary of Larousse says, eccentric habits. (a) No sooner did he land at Pondicherry he began quarrelling with the Chief of the French factory there, and threatened to return to Europe by the very boat which brought him to India, if the question of his allowances was not properly settled. (b) When in Bengal, he quarrelled with his French people, both at Chandarnagar and at Cassimbazar. (c) On his way to Surat, he quarrelled here and there with the heads of French factories and threatened to complain, and actually did complain, about them at the headquarters

at Pondicherry. (*d*) M. de Verrier, the Chief of the French factory at Surat, had secured promises of help for him, even when he was at Chandarnagar, and had supplied all his requirements when he came to Surat. He quarrelled with him also and wrote against him to Pondicherry. This quarrel seems to have ended in the result of his brother being appointed at the head of the factory, a result which may lead one to think that there was no valid cause for that quarrel, but the object was to have at the head of the factory, his own brother for whose promotion he was much solicitous from the very beginning and had made proposals even before he started from Pondicherry at Surat. (*e*) He had a quarrel with one of his own countryman which ended in a duel. The fault for the quarrel was on his side. (*f*) The English favoured him after the duel and gave him the protection of the factory, but on the incident of the native sepoys of the English factory refusing to make way for his brother's carriage, he forgot the obligation, which he owed to them and moved about armed with a pistol to fire against any Englishman who opposed him. It were the same Englishmen that he had to appeal to, when no other European factory gave him passage to return to Europe.

3. He was rather rough in manners. (*a*) On the voyage homewards, once he invited as a guest at St. Helena, Mr. Maskelyne, a known astronomer. His remarks against his guest were bad, and as said by Mr. Beveridge, were such as "gentlemanly feeling should have prevented" him from making against a guest. (*b*) Similarly, he made undignified and had remarks against some of the learned Professors at Oxford, who were then in the position of his hosts there. It is these remarks that are said to have fired young William Jones against him. (*c*) When on his way to Surat, a Portuguese interpreter had helped him and lodged him at his place. He quarrelled with him for the sake of a small sum for feeding charges. (*d*) His rough manners at times amounted to ungratefulness; for example, in the above case of his behaviour towards the English factors, who protected him after his duel, when he had to leave the French factory. (*e*) Muncherjee Seth of Surat had helped him with a Vendidad manuscript belonging to another Dastur. He refused to return it when asked for, and even went to the extent of keeping loaded pistols on his table to oppose any one that may go to take it.

4. The worst of his faults was his exaggeration of facts and the true state of affairs, with a view to secure credit of being a great man and a traveller working under extraordinary difficulties and risks. (*a*) For example, take the case of his visit to the Mogul Nabob Khodai Leti,

whom he represents as inclined to misbehave with him in the midst of his people. His accounts (*b*) of the incidents with a Fakieess on his way to Pondicherry from Bengal, and (*c*) of his talk with a Mahomedan lady, living in a house adjoining his at Surat, supply other instances, wherein he seems to seek credit for some extraordinary good moral conduct or behaviour. (*d*) He travelled in the Salsette in a palanquin with a number of followers and a Parsee domestic. At places, he was welcomed by Catholic priests and others. In spite of such conveniences, he says, that when he returned to Surat, he, on the recollection of the trouble and difficulties he met with in the journey, shed tears, which his friends had to wipe off. The fatigue he says was so much, that he had to give up his idea of going to China and Tibet. These are some of the instances that give us a glimpse of his character as a person of rather rough manners, unsteady habits, quarrelsome disposition, and a little self-conceit, which led him to exaggerate things to such an extent, as would make one doubt the truthfulness of his statements.

On the other hand, looking to the bright side of his character, one prominent thing that strikes us, is his frankness to do, at times, justice to those whom he had wronged, even at the risk of self-contradiction. The bright side of his character.

In spite of his unjust conduct towards Dastur Darah, in the end, he does him some justice by frankly giving him the credit due to him. Whatever his faults, and some of them are common among many travellers, he was a daring traveller and a great and diligent scholar, who enriched, not only his own country, but Europe with Oriental books and Oriental learning. It is the flame of learning which he kindled that has continually shone forth. His work in the field of Oriental literature latterly inspired many a scholar, not only in the field of what may be called the study of Oriental languages, but also of Orientalism generally. The galaxy of a number of German poet-philosophers, with a man like Goethe at their head, was inspired by his writings directly and indirectly. The Parsees owe him a great debt of gratitude, not only for introducing the study of Zoroastrianism in Europe, but for the minute care with which he has recorded what he observed and heard when in Surat. This record helps them to know some peculiar traits in the manners and customs of the Parsees of those times.

With all his faults, which are common to several travellers, he was a great and good scholar. All honour to his glorious name ! All honour to the Institution and the Académie to which he belonged ! All honour to the country which produced him !

ART. XIV.—*A note on some rare coins in the cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

By

K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., Poona.

[LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED.

I. M. C. = Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, Part 1, by V. A. Smith.

B. M. C. = Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum, Greek and Scythic Kings, by P. Gardner.

P. M. C. = Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, Vol. I, by R. B. Whitehead.

diad. = diademed.

Pl. = Plate.

wt. = weight.

r. = right.

l. = left.

mon. = monogram.]

On cursorily examining the Greæco-Bactrian and Scythian sections of the cabinet, in May last, I happened to come across the following interesting coins, which were subsequently placed at my disposal for the purpose of research, by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, who kindly brought them from the Society's cabinet.

(1) Demetrius ; Æ ; circular '63.

Obv. : within circle of dots, bust of king r. diad. in relief.

Rev. : within circle of dots, Heracles l. seated on rock or omphalos, holding short club in r. hand, Greek legend.

r. : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ (Σ)

below : ΣΩΤΗ (ΡΟΣ)

l. : ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ

This coin somewhat resembles the one published in *B. M. C.*, Pl. XXX, 2, but the king's head considerably differs ; the deities on the reverse, though similar in pose, are different ; and the occurrence of the title ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ on the present coin gives it a unique interest, as the title is supposed to have been used for the first time by Antimachos I, among the Indo-Bactrian rulers (*B. M. C.*, Pl. XXX, 6).

The metal appears to be bronze, with perhaps an admixture of some higher metal like silver.

(*Vide* No. 1 of Pl.)

(2) Eucratides ; \mathcal{R} ; circular '6.

Obv : Bust of king r. diad. with crested helmet. Greek legend,
above in a semi-circle :

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟ [Υ]

below in a straight line :

ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔ (ΟΥ)

Rev : The Dioskouroi, standing facing, spear in hand. To r. mon.

⊕ (*I. M. C.*, Pl. VII, 18)

Kharōshthi legend, above in a semi-circle : [ra] jasa maha-
(takasa.)

In exergue :

(e) vukrati (dasa)

This coin is identical in type, with the very rare coin, published in *I. M. C.*, P. 13, Type 4. The monogram on the present coin is different, but is found on other types of Eucratides.

(For an illustration of this coin, *vide I. M. C.*, Pl. II, 9.)

(3) Menander ; \mathcal{R} square, '8 ; wt. 101 grains.

Obv. : Bust of Pallas r. with crested helmet. Greek legend.

1. : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ

above : ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ

r : ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Rev. Circular buckler, with ox-head in centre. Below, mon. \mathcal{M}

(*I. M. C.*, Pl. VII, 86.)

Kharōshthi legend, r. : Maharajasa.

above : tratarasa.

1 : Mēnadrasa.

Square silver coins are very rare in the Indo-Greek series, being met with only as hemi-drachms under Apollodotus and Philoxenes, though the standard of weight adopted, was the same as that of the circular hemi-drachms. The present coin, however, appears merely to be an exact replica in silver of the copper type of Menander, which is well-known, (*I. M. C.*, Pl. V, 9) rather than a distinct silver issue, with a fixed denomination, conforming to a definite standard of weight and size. It may have been the outcome of the merest fancy of the


mint-master of Menander. A similar example might be cited in the unique silver coin of Kadphises II, published in *B. M. C.*, Pl. XXV, 11, which Mr. Whitehead rightly regards in the nature of a proof-piece (*P. M. C.*, p. 174).

(*Vide* No. 2 of Pl.)

(4) Huvishka : circular AR 6 ; wt. 40 grains.

Obv : Half length figure of king l. with round, high-crested helmet, holding a club, or ear of corn in r. hand ; around circular border, corrupt Greek legend, apparently intended for

ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΡΑΟ ΟΥΟΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ

Rev : within circular and part of dotted borders, two deities stand facing each other : Goddess Nana l. wearing chiton, with l. hand extended, and God Siva r. four-handed, two hands extended, and one perhaps holding a club. Between the figures, mon.  (*J. M. C.*, Pl. VII, 159).

Greek legend, l. and above : ΝΑΝΑ.

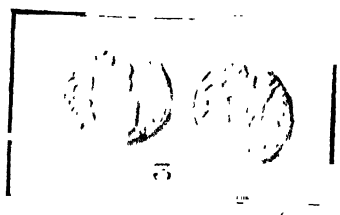
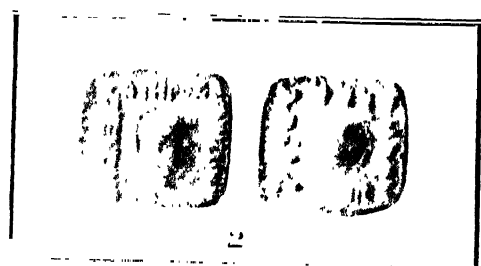
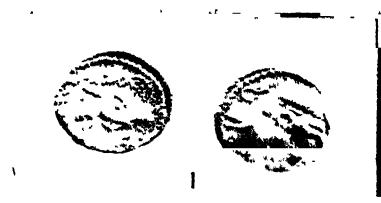
r. :

ΟΚΡΟ.

This coin is one of exceptional interest, and well worth studying in its different aspects, as the first known silver coin of Huvishka, as well as the second known of the Kushan dynasty. That the coin is a perfectly genuine issue of Huvishka, cannot reasonably be doubted ; because (1) though the first part of the legend is unusually corrupt, the really important words ΟΥΟΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ are quite legible, and the Greek legend on the reverse is in perfectly good script ; (2) though the king's portrait is slightly different from the usual one, in being a little leaner, it agrees in all important particulars with the standard bust C (*J. M. C.*, P. 76) ; (3) the monogram is one which is exclusively found on the coins of Huvishka ; (4) the deities portrayed on the reverse occur together on another gold coin of Huvishka, (*P. M. C.*, Pl. XVIII, 135), and are not known to have occurred anywhere else ; (5) the execution of the coin stands artistically on the same level as the gold coins of Huvishka.

Unlike coin No. 3 described above, or unlike the only other known silver coin of the Kushans (*B. M. C.*, Pl. XXV, 11) this coin does not appear to be a mere copy of a gold or copper type, but a regular hemidrachm of the Persian standard, which, adopted by the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians, might have been continued by their Kushan successors.

(*Vide* No. 3 of Pl.)



ART. XV.—Anquetil Du Perron of Paris
and
Dastur Darab of Surat.

By

SHAMS-UL-ULMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D.

Read on 7th February 1916.

I.

As said in my previous Paper, entitled "Anquetil Du Perron—India, as seen by him (1755-60)," my first object in studying the life of Anquetil Du Perron and the account of his travels, was to collect materials and facts, which could enable us to know him, as described by himself, so that, we may thereby be in a better position to understand his relations with his Parsee teacher, Dastur Darab of Surat. The question of these relations was the principal subject of my study. So, the object of this Paper is to examine the relations, that existed between Anquetil and Dastur Darab, as described by Anquetil in his book of the Zend-Avesta.

Division of the subject. I will divide my subject under three heads :—

- I. An Account of Dastur Darab.
- II. An Account of Anquetil's pupilage before Darab and of his studies on Parseeism, and an examination of this account.
- III. Anquetil's Account of his alleged clandestine visit to a Parsee Fire-temple in the disguise of a Parsee under the guidance of Dastur Darab, and an examination of that account with a view to see how far it is true.

II.

I. AN ACCOUNT OF DASTUR DARAB.

Dastur Darab was born at Surat. The date of his birth is not certain. But he is said to have died at the age of seventy-five on *Ros Bahman, Mah Bahman* Name, Family and Genealogy. *Shāhānshāhi, Māh Spandārmad Kādmi, 1141 Yazdāzardi* (August 1773). So we take it, that he was born in 1698 A. D. He was known, in his time, and even for some time after his death, as *Kumānā Dādādāru*. The name of his mother was

Kunverbâi and that of his father Sohrâbjee. The mother, Kunverbâi gave him the first part of his familiar name. She was known among her near ones and acquaintances by a contracted short name Kumâ. In the family Nâmgrahan,¹ her name is invoked as "Kuma." So, the first part of Dastur Darab's name comes from the name of his mother. As to the second part of his familiar name Dâdâdâru, the word Dâdâ² is a corruption of Dârâb and the word Dâru signifies a priest. There is an Indian Sanskrit word Adhvaryu (अध्वर्यु), meaning, "a priest whose duty was 'to measure the ground, build the altar, prepare sacrificial vessels, to fetch wood and water, light the fire, bring the animal and immolate it,' and while doing this to repeat the Yajurved."³ This Indian word Adhvaryu is a little corrupted among the Parsees and is used as Andhiâru. It means a Parsee priest. "This corrupted word Andhiâru seems to have been further contracted and corrupted into Dâru. We thus trace the name of Dastur Darab step by step: Dâdâ was another form of his name Dârâb. Then Dâdâ Andhiâru (*i.e.*, Dada (Darab) the priest) became Dâdâdâru. The form Dâru is even now used after the name of many a Parsee priest.⁴ Thus, we see, how and why Dastur Darab was known as Kumâdâ Dâdâdâru. Kûma, the short and familiar name of his mother, has given the surname of Kumâdâ (lit. "of Kumâ") to the whole family, which is still known as Kumâdâ⁵. The Parsee

¹ The word nâm-grahan has its origin in the Avesta words "nâma âgairyât" (Farvardin Yasht. Yt. XIII, 50). It comes from Avesta nâman (Sans. नामन Pahl. and Pers. nâm, Lat. nomen, Germ. name, Fr. nom, Eng. name) and garw (Sans. ग्रह, ग्रह Pahl. and Pers. girafan, Germ. ergreifen, to get hold of, to take). So, Nâm-grahan means 'the taking or remembering of names.' Every family has a manuscript book or list, known by that name. It contains the names of the departed ones of the family. The names of those who have died lately head the list. The priest, while reciting the Pazend Dîbâcheh in the Afringân, Satum, Farokhdî, Yaçna, &c., recites all the names in this list. At first, he mentions or invokes the name of the particular deceased in whose honour the ceremony is performed, and then recites the names of the other deceased of the family. He then recites also the names of some of the departed Zoroastrian worthies of Ancient Iran and India who have done valuable service to their community and their country. (*Vide* my Paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees. Their Origin and Explanation." Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, (1891), Vol. II., No. 7, pp. 405-441).

² I know of a relation of mine whose name was Dorabji Modi, but he was spoken of by some as Dâdâbhâi Modi or Dâdâ Modi.

³ Mr. V. S. Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary (1890), p. 54, col. 3.

⁴ For example, Dr. Wilson said of the well-known Dastur Edalji Dorabji Sanjana, that he was "familiarily known by the name of Edal Daru" (Wilson's "Parsee Religion," Preface, page 9).

⁵ The family had produced another lady, as well-known as Kumâ or Kunverbâi. She was Dosibâi, the wife of Dastur Rustam, a great great grandson of Dârâb. She died in 1878, at the age of 83, and was known at Surat as "Dasturjîna Dosibâi," *i.e.*, Dosibai of Dasturjî. She is said to have supplied a good deal of information about Surat Parsees, and especially about her family, to Mr. B. B. Patel for his Parsee Prakash.

date of her death as given in the family
riyaz, mās o Adar, Kadmi.

Dastur Darab's father was Sohrab. The date of his death is from a Shahrivar, mah 3 Amardad, Kadmi.

I give here the text and my transliteration and translation of two colophons at the end of some Avesta writings written by Dastur Darab. These colophons give the names of his ancestors. They form part of a codex containing the writings of several writers. I give a fac-simile of the original from a fac-simile photograph embodied by Mademoiselle Dr. Menant, in her 'Paper,' entitled "Observations sur deux manuscrits Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale."

[illegible]

Text-Pahlavi Frāspat pavan shūm va shādih va rāmishna dayan
yūm Oharmazd binā Ātaro shant madam ayōk hazār nahad va ayōk
min malakān malakā yazdagard shatroayār Geth navisandeh, le din-
bandeh magopat Dārāb benman Sohrāb Kolā aish mūn barā
karitunt shūm va āfrin min le barā yamtūnt. Kolā aish mūn barā
karitunt shūm ʾa salām avar le barā vādūd.

Shadân tan nafshman varzit tobân dehashna.

1. Dia-po-tha is a family register, in which the names of the departed ones of the family are entered in the regular order of days and months.

4. The manuscript is described by M. E. Bichet in his "Catalogue des Manuscrits Mandéens (Zénâ, Pehlvi, Parç et Persan) de la Bibliothèque Nationale," (1868), vol. 2, p. 49. It is supplement persan 49.

Journal Asiatique of Jouliet-Aout 1911 and Mar-Juin 1912. For the photograph of this manuscript, with the Journal of Mai-Juin 1913 p. 626, plate III. Mademoiselle Monestier has given me her Paper, my transcriptions and translations of those "colophons" and of the collection of my other manuscripts of two other writers, both Dard's by name. I give here the translation and translations which refer to Dastur Dard's manuscript, with slight modifications here and there.

Text Persian :

این کتاب الجند پهلوی کاتب الحرف داراب جی موبد سهراب
موبد بهمن موبد بهرام فرامرزدین پذیر و جان نثار در دین
زراشت سفتمان بیشک بیگمان و راست گفتار و خسروی
نکش ایوزداسر تن آن —

Translation Pahlavi.

Finished with good wishes¹ joy and pleasure, on day Oharmazd, month Adar, year One thousand Ninety and One (1091), from the King of Kings, Yazdagard Shatroyar. Worldly² copyist, I servant of the religion, magopat (mobad) Darab, son of Sohrab. May good-wishes and blessings reach from me to any one who reads (this book). Let any one who reads (this book), send to me good wishes and blessings. May you enjoy a joyful (healthy) body and the gift of a (joyful) soul.

Translation Persian.

The writer of this Zend Pahlavi book, Darâhji,³ mobad Sohrâb, mobad Bahman, mobad Bahrâm Frâmarz, (who is) the acceptor of the religion, the sacrificer of his life over the undoubted and unsuspected religion of Zarâtusht Asfantmân, and the speaker of truth, and noble in his actions, and of purified body.

Darab's Genea- We see from the Persian colophon that he gives
logy. the names of his four ancestors as follows:—

- (1) Mobad Sohrâb. (2) Mobad Bahman. (3) Mobad Bahrâm.
(4) Frâmarz.

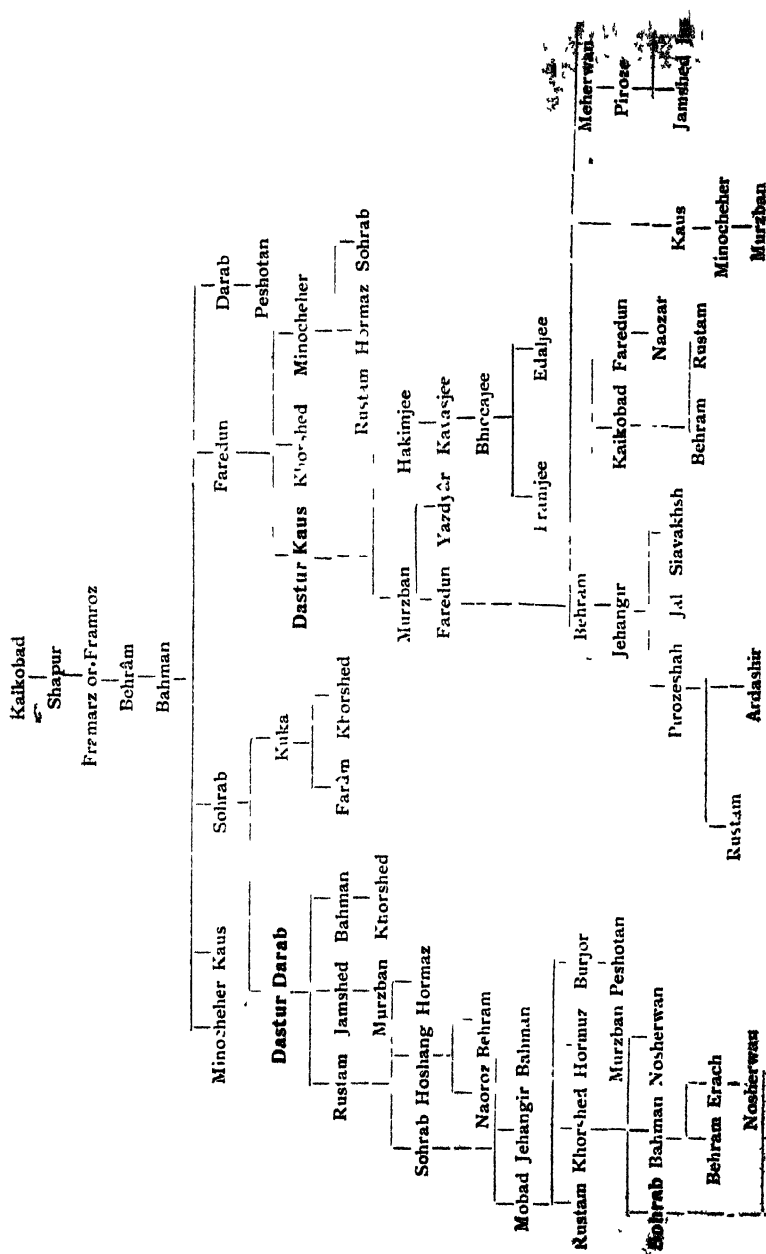
I give here a genealogy, both ascending and descending, of the Dastur, based on information given to me by the present members of his family, especially by Mr. Erachshaw Bomanji Dastoor Kumana, and on Dastur Darab's colophons⁴.

¹ Shum or Shlam arab سلام salutation, peace, health. The word may also be read Shnum (Av. Kshnuma) meaning joy, contentment.

² Stih or getih. The word may be taken with the preceding word 'shatroyar' "Yazdagard, the king of the world."

³ It is worth noting here, that Darab adds the appellation 'ji' after his own name but not after the names of his ancestors. The word 'ji' (Av. ji, P. Zistan to live) giving the idea of 'living' was applied only to the names of those who were alive, and not to those of the dead. Hence, in the names of the dead recited in the nâm-grahan, the general practice is to drop the 'ji.' This practice is now observed more in the case of the priestly class than in that of the laity.

⁴ Mademoiselle Menant also gives a genealogy in her Paper, "Anquetil Duperron à Surate." That also is based on the information given by the above named gentleman. Since writing the above, I have seen a separate genealogical tree of the Murzban family published by Mr. Murzban M. Murzban. (Vide his Leaves from the Life of Khan Bahadur Muncherjee Cawnji Murzban). I find some difference in this genealogical tree also. But I think the one given by me is correct. One cause of such difference in genealogical trees of the same family is the fact that, at times, compilers mistake the names of adoptive fathers, whose names are adopted by the adopted sons, to be the names of real fathers.



In the life of Mr. Furdoonji Murzban,¹ published by his grandson, Mr. Kaikobad B. Murzban (joint Principal of the New High School of Bombay), whose family belongs to the stock of Dastur Darab, we find some difference in the ascending line of the common ancestors of Darab and Kaus. Mr. Kaikobad Murzban gives two names—Rustam and Kānīdīn—between the name of Dastur Kaus's father Faredun and that of Bahman, *i.e.*, he takes it, that Bahman, instead of being the father of Faredun, was the great grandfather of Faredun. As Dastur Kaus was the cousin of Dastur Darab, this also amounts to saying that Bahman was not the father of Dastur Darab's father Sohrab, but a great grandfather. On inquiring once from Mr. Kaikobad Murzban, what his authority for his statement was, he said his only authority was some notes in the papers of his father, the late Mr. Behramji Murzban, a known learned writer. The colophon of a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale settles this question of difference, and shows, that the geneology given by me above is correct. In the catalogue of Parsee manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, by Mr. Blochet², we find the colophon as follows :—

این معنی زند اوستا دو روز زمیاد و ماه مبارک تیر سال
اور یک هزار و یکصد و شش از شهنشاه یزدگرد شهریار نوشته نویسنده
کمترین بربک کاوس موبد فریدون دستور بهمن موبد بهرام نوشت

Translation.—This translation of the Zend Avesta is written on Roz Zamyād, auspicious month Tir, year one thousand one hundred and six of Emperor Yazdagard Shaheriyar. It is written by the humble writer, Herbad Kaūs-Mobad Faridun-Dastur Bahman-Mobad Behram.

(a) The geneology given here clearly shows that the line of ancestors as given by me in the above geneological tree is correct. Dastur Kaus is said to have died on roz 30, mah 1 Kadmi, 1148 Yazdardi, *i.e.*, 1778 A. D.³ at the age of 62. If so, he must have written the above manuscript with its Persian colophon at the young age of about 20.

(b) Again there is the evidence of Anquetil himself. In my Paper before this Society, entitled "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana,"⁴ I have quoted in French, and given my translation of, some notes of Anquetil, on the subject of Dastur Meherjee Rana's interview with Akbar.⁵ There, Anquetil speaks of

¹ ۱۲۵۴۱۷ ۳۲۲۷۱۷ (The life of) Furdoonji Murzbanjee by Mr. Kaikobad Behramji Murzban.

² "L'ide Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdēens (Zends, Pehlvis, Parsis et Persans) de la Bibliothèque Nationale," par E. Blochet (1900), p. 25, XVIII, supplement persan 49, No. 12.

³ Parsee Prakash. Vol. I, p. 57.

⁴ Read on 13th July 1913. Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXI, Art. XIX, pp. 537-551. *Vide* my book "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rana," pp. 382-397.

⁵ *Ibid.* Journal, p. 549. My book, pp. 395-56; *vide* the fac-simile photo at the end.

one Dastur Schapour (Shapur) Kaikobad, as the sixth fore-father of Darab (le 6^e ayeul de Darab). I think, Anquetil has, by some mistake, included either Darab himself at one end, or Dastur Shapur at the other end, and so given the number 6. Otherwise strictly speaking Shapur would be the fifth ancestor. However, if we were to take the genealogy and the names given by Mr. Kaikobad B. Murzban as correct and include two additional names—Rustam and Kamdin—in the genealogical tree, then Dastur Shapur would be the 7th ancestor, or according to Anquetil's calculation the 8th ancestor of Dastur Darab. Thus, we have Anquetil's authority to say, that the two additional names are not correct and the genealogy given by me is correct.

(c) Again, in such matters, nothing is more valuable than the *Disâpothi*¹ of a family which contains memoranda about the anniversaries of the deaths of members of the family and their ancestors. These Disâpothis, when well-kept, give some facts on which we can rely. Some families possess very old Disâpothis coming down from fore-fathers, the later names being added to it. When the manuscript of the old Disâpothis gets worn out by being frequently handled for reference, they make an exact copy in a new manuscript. The present members of Dastur Darab's family, known at Surat as Dastur-Kumana, have such a Disâpothi. Erwad Erachshaw Bomanji Dastur Kumana, kindly sends me, in his letter, dated 5th February 1916,² some notes of memoranda giving the dates of the anniversaries of some of the early members of the family closely related to Dastur Darab. I give the memos in the Disâpothis as sent by him.

૧. રોજ ૨૪ મા. ૫ ઠકમી.

એ. ફરેદુન દા. બહમન બેરામ ફરામરોજ તે દસતુર કાઉસદના બાપ

i.e., day 24, month 5, Kadmi.

E (Erwad) Faredun D. (Dastur) Bahman, Behram, Framroz, the father of Dastur Kausji.

Here we see that the old family memorandum gives the name Bahman Behram Framroz as that of the grand-father of Kaus.

૨. રોજ ૧૯મે માહ પકા ૩૬મી.

એ. સોહરાબ દા. બહમન બેરામ ફરામરોજ તે દા. દાદાદારના બાપ.

i.e., day 19, month 5, Kadmi.

O (Osta) Sohrab Dastur Bahman, Behram, Framroz, the father of Dastur Dadadaru.

¹ Vide above for an explanation of this word.

² This gentleman's attention was drawn to this subject by my contribution in the Jami-Jamshed of 4th February 1916, on this subject of Darab's genealogy.

3. રોજ ૧૪ માહ રજો.

એ. કાકિસ દા. બમન તે દા. કાકિસબના કાકા.

i.e. day 14, mah 3.

Erwad Kaus Dastur Bahman, the uncle of Dastur Kausji.

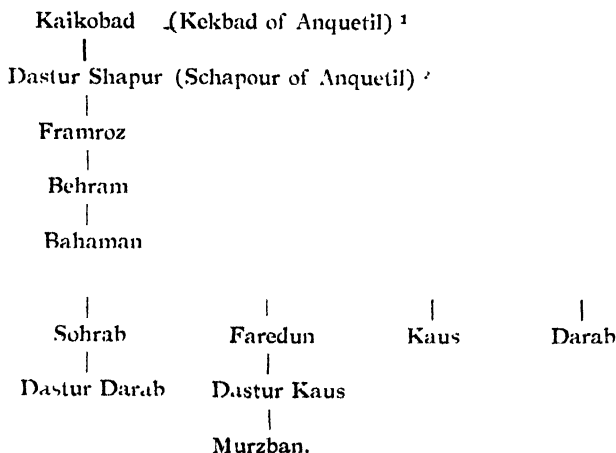
4. ૪. રોજ ૧૦મો માહ રજો.

એ. દારાબ દા. બમન તે દા. કાકિસબના કાકા.

i.e. day 10th, month 2nd.

Osta-Darab Dastur Bahman, the uncle of Dastur Kausji.

These family notes confirm the correctness of my genealogy. With the help of the notes and statements we can frame the following genealogical tree of the common ancestors of Dastur Darab and his cousin Dastur Kaus :—



We see from the above genealogical tree, that Dastur Darab and his

His family well- line of descent came down from Sohrab one of the connected. great grandsons of Framroz and were well-connected. Dastur Sohrab, the great, great, great grandson or the fifth in descent from Dastur Darab is the present Kadmi Dastur of Surat and is in charge of the Kadmi Atash Behram. There are about 100 Kadmi families in Surat at present. They look to this Dastur as their spiritual head.

¹ Anquetil's manuscript notes. *Vide* for the text of these notes and their fac-simile photo, my Paper on "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," (Journal), B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, pp. 538-551. *Vide* p. 549 for the name. *Vide* my book "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," p. 395).

² *Ibid.*

Dastur Kâus, the cousin of Darab, to whom Anquetil often refers, was the son of Faredun, another great grandson of Framroz. From him comes down the Murzban family of Bombay, the founder of which, Mr. Fardoonji (Fredoon) Murzban, had started the first Gujarati Press in Bombay. The family of Dastur Mulla Feroze, the well-known Dastur of the Kadmi sect of Bombay and the author of the George-Nameh was related to the family of Dastur Darab. All the family papers and books were burnt, together with the old Fire-temple referred to by Anquetil, in the great fire of 24th April 1837¹ at Surat, when Dastur Mobad was on the Dasturship.

It seems, that Dastur Darab had according to those times, his early education at the hands of some elders of his family or at the hands of some other learned priests. His family was a learned family. Anquetil, while describing his manuscript of the Yazashne Sade,² refers to two other manuscripts which he saw in London on his return from India. One of these, he says, was seen by Norouzji³, the son of Roustoum Manek when he

¹ *I'ade* B. B. Patel's *Parsce Prakâsh*, Vol. I, pp. 3, 3-7, for an account of this great fire. The Parsce Surat Charity Fund, administered at present at the Parsce Punchayet Office, had its origin in the Fund started on the occasion of the fire to relieve distress.

² *Zend Avesta*, Tome I, Partie II, Notices pp. VIII-IX.

³ This Naoraji was, the young son of the well-known Rustam Manock of Surat (1635-1721), whose name is borne by Rustampurâ, one of the suburbs of Surat. Rustam Manock was the Shroff of the English Treasury at Surat and had some influence with the Mogul Durbar. In 1660, he accompanied the Chief Factor of the English Factory to the Court of King Aurangzeb. Mobad Jamshed bin Kaikobad wrote, in 1711, a memoir of his life in Persian. There he thus refers to Rustam's interview and representation to Aurangzeb.

پس از سوي انگريز چو داد خواہ
بآواز عرضش نموده بشاہ
کہ مرد از بہرہ سودا گري
بہند آمد است از رہ خاوري
ولي دخل نہ ہند اين را بشہر
اميران درگاہ والا بمہر

پس آنگہ بلزد یک اورنگ شاہ
وزیر رسد خان بode پیشگاہ
بگفتش کہ منشور شاہي يکي
بنام کلمہ پوش دہ بنشکي

was in England about 40 or 50 years before him. The second manuscript was one purchased by Mr. Fraser and deposited in Oxford. According to Anquetil's information received from Dastur Darab, Mr. Fraser had purchased, for about Rs. 500 this and another manuscript (a Rivayet) from Manockji Seth, a grandson of the above Rustam Manock. Manockji Seth had procured them from Dastur Bikh¹. According to Anquetil, Mr. Fraser had made a note in this second manuscript of the *yazashna*, that there was a family at Surat which boasts to be the only family that knew Zend and Pahlavi. Anquetil says that it was the family of Darab that was referred to ².

Anquetil's supposition does not seem to be quite correct, because, we learn from the colophon of a manuscript (K¹²) written by Jamasp Velayati or Jamasp Hakim, of whom, we will just speak, that he presented a copy of the Fāvardin Yasht, which he had written, with some Hom branches to the three sons of Mobed Rustamji, in return of their kindness and hospitality (Westergaard, Preface, p. 5, n 3 and p. 15, n. 1). The fact of his presenting his own copy, supposed to be important by him, and the Hom twigs to another Mobad family points to the probability of there being other learned families besides that of Dastur Darab. Again, in the list of the names attached to several documents and papers of the time, as referred to in the Parsee Prakash, we find the names of several Mobad and Dastur families. So, it is probable, that there were more than one learned family in Surat, which, at that time, occupied the position of the headquarters of the Parsees, as Bombay does at present. However Anquetil's statement based on a remark of Fraser, which does not seem to be quite correct, points to the fact, that Darab's family was, if not the learned family, at

(Manuscript of Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Noisau No 45 pp 33-34 written by Dastur Eruchji Sohrabji Meherji Rana)

Translation --Then he, as one asking for justice, on behalf of the English, submitted his (the Englishman's) request with a loud voice before the king that the man has come for commerce from the West to India. But the Amirs of the (His Majesty's) Great Court do not admit him into the city. At that time there was before king Aurangzeb a Vazir (named) Rasadkhan. The king told him that a royal order in favour of the hat-wearer (kolah-posh) i.e., the Englishman) may be given.

Naoroji the youngest son of Rustam Manock was the first Parsee to go to England. He went there in 1723 to lay his complaint before the then Court of Directors, in the matter of an injustice, done to his family, by the English factors (*vide* the memoir of the Seth family by Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth). The Naoroji Hall of Bombay bears his name. It is this visit that Anquetil refers to above.

¹ Dastur Bhukhaji Jamshedji a known Dastur of Surat, Parsee Prakash Vol I pp 36, 46, 80, &c.,.

² Il y a à Surat une famille qui se vante d'être la seule qui entende le zend et le Pehlvi. Il voulait parler de celle de Darab, dont j'ai pris les leçons (Tome I, Partie II, Notice VI, p. IX)

least one of the few learned priestly families of Surat. A great, great, great grandfather of Darab was one "Dastur Shapur Herbad Kaijko-bad".¹ According to the Dhoup Nirang, given by Anquetil,² he was one of the departed worthies of the community, whose memory was held in esteem by his and later generations.³ Thus, being a member of a family of learned Dasturs or priests, Darab had good opportunities of acquiring religious education at an early age.

By the age of 24, Darab was pretty well versed in the lore of Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian. This appears from the fact, that the Vendidad above referred to, which was written by Darab and which Anquetil took with him to Paris, bears in its colophon, the date of 1091 Yazdazardi, i.e., 1722 A. D. There are two colophons in the manuscript, one in Pahlavi and another in Persian. These show, that he knew these languages pretty well in 1722 A. D., when he was about 24.

Darab soon got an opportunity for further studies. In 1721, there came from Persia, a learned Zoroastrian, named Jamasp. He latterly became known as Jamasp Velâyatî, i.e., Jamasp of the mother-country (Persia). According to the Avijeh-i-Din of Dastur Moola Feroz* (p. 12), Jamasp left Persia on roz 30, mah 2, Kadmi 1090 Yazdazardi (26th November 1720). The approximate date of Jamasp's arrival in India can also be fixed from the date of the colophon of the manuscript called K 13 by Westergaard (Zend Avesta, Preface, p. 14, n. 2). The colophon says, that it was written in Surat in 1090 Yazdazardi (1721 A. D.) by Jamasp Hakim. Being the son of Hakim, Jamasp Velayati was also known as Jamasp Hakim (Westergaard, Preface, p. 5, n. 3). He speaks of himself as Jamasp Hakim in another manuscript K 4 also (Ibid, p. 13). It further appears from the colophon of K¹, that Jamasp had come to India with a reply to some questions sent to the Dasturs of Persia from the Parsis of India. He was, as it were, the bearer of a Revayet.

Darab became one of the pupils of this Jamasp and studied Pahlavi with him. Anquetil thus refers to the fact: "Le Destour du Kirman forma quelques disciples, Darab à Surate, Djanasp à Naucari, un troisieme à Barotch, auxquels il apprit le Zend et le Pehlvi."⁴ Dastur Moola

¹ Anquetil's, Zend Avesta, Tome II, p. 53, n. 2.

² Ibid.

³ I vide my paper on the "Funeral Ceremony, of the Parav", p. 31-32, for the Parsee custom of Commemoration.

⁴ The Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I. p. Discours Préliminaire, p. 326.

Feroze also refers to Darab's discipleship under Jamasp¹, who is said to have been disgusted with the Parsees at Surat, on account of their dissensions on some religious matters. "²

Jamasp stayed in India for a short time. According to the Avizeh-i-Din of Moola Feroze, as said above, he left Persia on roz 30, mah 2, 1090 and left India on roz 26, mah 1, next year. During the interval of about 10 months and 26 days between these two dates, a part of his time must have been taken by the journey and voyage from Kerman in Persia to Surat. So, perhaps there were only 8 or 9 months for Darab to study under Jamasp. This fact shows that Darab did not owe much to Jamasp for his learning.

About 15 years³ after the departure of Jamasp, *i.e.*, in or about 1736 A. D., there came to India, another learned Zoroastrian from Persia, named Jamshed, and known here as Jamshed Velayati. Jamasp had, during his short stay at Surat, drawn the attention of the Parsees there to the difference of one month between their calendar and that of the Persian Zoroastrians. He influenced, at least one Parsee, Mr. Manockji Edulji Armânina (so called from his being a broker of the Armenian Merchants of Surat), in favour of the Persian calendar. Jamshed, who followed him, further agitated this question of the calendar, known latterly, as the Kabiseh controversy.⁴ He attracted the attention of a large number who wanted to give up the Indian Parsees' roz mah, and to follow those of the calendar of the Zoroastrians of Iran. Darab and his cousin Kaus, who also was a learned priest, were among these new adherents. Some of the laymen, who were influenced by Jamshed, went to these two priests and implored them to undertake the performance of religious ceremonies in their families, when they separated as a body from the majority of their co-religionists who adhered to the old calendar. Darab and Kaus both consented.⁵ From that time, the Parsees have been divided into two sects. (1) The Shâhânshâhis, *i.e.*, the followers of the old method of the Iranian

¹ Avizeh-i-Din (1830), p. 16.

² The two principal questions of difference among the Parsees of Surat at that time were the following: (1) Whether the face of a corpse should be covered with a piece of cloth (paitidâna or padan) or not? (2) Whether the legs of the deceased should be folded or not? (*Vide* K. R. Kama Memorial Volume, pp. 170-82; Khan Bahadur B. B. Patel's Paper entitled "A brief outline of some controversial questions that led to the advancement of the study of religious literature among the Parsees.")

Anquetil refers to one of these controversies, Vol I., P. 1, p. 326.

³ The Avizeh-i-Din of Moola Feroze, p. 14.

⁴ *Vide* K. R. Kama Memorial Volume. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-81. ⁵ Avizeh-i-Din of Moola Feroze, p. 16.

Shāhānshāhas or kings who were observing intercalation and (2) The Kadimis or the followers of the ancient method. Both parties claimed theirs to be the old method. The Kadimis, following the Iranian calendar, said that the Indian Parsees had made an innovation and added a month. So, they called themselves the Kadimis or the ancients. A majority of the Kadimis or the first followers of Jamshed were *churigars*, i.e., the manufacturers of women's bangles. So, their sect received from the other, the nick name of Churigars. In return, the Kadimis called their opponents Rasmis, i.e., the followers of a custom. The dissensions had gone so far, that, according to Anquetil, Darab had, at one time, to flee to Daman, a possession of the Portuguese, and his cousin Kaus to Cambay, where the British had great influence. The Shahanshahis were strong and powerful at the time, because, they had at their head, one Muncherji Seth, who was the broker of the Dutch factory and who had much influence with the Nabobs. I have referred in one of my previous papers, how, as described by a Persian Kisseh, the controversy had some influence on the capture of Broach by the British.¹

According to the Avizeh-i-Din² of Dastur Moola Feroze, some of the laymen of Surat, who were persuaded by the teaching of Jamshed to adopt the Persian calendar, one day went under the leadership of Manockji Edulji, the broker of the Armenians, (Armāninā Manockji Edulji Dalal) before Dastur Darab and his cousin Dastur Kaus and requested them to be the priests of the new sect, which they proposed to found. These two Dasturs consented.

Darab was nominated by the new sect of the Kadimi Parsees as their first Dastur or High Priest. In the Ithoter Revayet, he is addressed as "Dastur Dindār Dastur Darab vald-i Dastur Sohrāb,"³ i.e., "Dastur, the Defender of the Faith, Dastur Darab, the son of Dastur Sohrab." The date of this Rivayet is 1773 A.D.⁴ We find in the Library of the Moola Feroze Madressa a manuscript of this Revayet written by Dastur Kaus, who was the father of the famous Moola Feroze and who himself was one of the four messengers from India who went to Persia bearing the letter on various religious questions. In that manuscript, Kaus (who speaks of himself as vald-i Garothman makāni Dastur Rustam Bharucha, i.e., the son of Dastur Rustam whose mansion was in heaven) speaks of Dastur Darab as his *ustād* or teacher.

¹ "A few Notes on Broach from an Antiquarian point of view." Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXII, Art. XIX, No. LXII, pp. 299-321. ² Avizeh-i-Din, p. 16.

³ The father of Darab is spoken of as Dastur, out of respect, as he was a member of a learned Dastur family.

⁴ This translation of this Revayet was published in Gujarati, in 1846, under the title of "Ithoter Revayet," i.e., the Revayet containing 78 questions.

Darab seems to have written several manuscripts of the Avesta Pahlavi scriptures. Westergaard refers to some. Referring to Jamasp Velayati, he says : "The stay of Jamasp in India forms an epoch in the modern literary history of the Pârsis ; his memory therefore remained."¹ It seems that Jamasp was made much of by one of the two sects of the Parsees, the Kadimis, because it was he, who first drew their attention to the difference of one month between the Iranian and Indian calendars of the Parsees. But, even laying aside the question of some exaggerated importance, we must admit, that his arrival here led to some kind of activity as the result of the Kabisch controversy. In this activity, Darab had a principal hand. "Mobed Darab," says Westergaard, "the principal disciple of Jamasp, undertook to correct the Pahlevi translation, as well as some passages of the text, which appeared to him either to be transposed or to contain unnecessary repetitions." Westergaard makes this statement on the authority of Anquetil Du Perron, who, in this connection, speaks of Darab as the first pupil of Jamasp (*premier disciple de Dâniasp*)² and as one "more learned than others" (*plus instruit que les autres*). As the result of this, it follows, that Darab must have written some manuscripts embodying some changes here and there. Some of these manuscripts, as far as known at present, are the following :—

K₂ in the Library of Copenhagen (Kjøbenhavn). "It bears neither date nor name of transcriber, but is, as Rask states, copied by Destur Dârâb, and the hand resembles that in which he has written the two postscripts to K,"³ Rask thought that the first part of it was written by Dastur Kaus, son of Feridun (the cousin of Dastur Darab), and the second part by Dastur Darab himself. But Westergaard corrects him, saying, that the manuscript was written by some other expert scribe. But there were two postscripts in it—one before the 9th chapter of the Vendidad and the other at the end of the copy—that were written by Dastur Darab himself. According to Westergaard, Darab had caused the copy to be made in Surat in 1115 Yazdazardi (A.D. 1746) from a manuscript of Rustam Shahriyar Māvandâd, son of Bâhrâm Mihrbân of Turkâbâd in the province of Yazd."⁴

Anquetil in his "Notices, &c." speaks of one of the manuscripts of his collection as "Vendidad en Zend et en Pehlvi, mêlé de Pazend, revû et corrigé par le Destur Darab ; Vispered Zend et Pehlvi ; Vadj

¹ *Zend Avesta* by Westergaard, Preface, p. 5. ² *Tome I., P. I., p. 326.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 327. ⁴ Westergaard, Preface, p. 6. ⁵ Westergaard, p. 8 n. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 3. ⁷ *Zend Avesta*, Tome I., P. II., p. VII, Notice V.

Peschab ; Serosh Yescht Hadokht Zend, Pehlvi et Samskretan ; et Sirouzé en Zend et en Persan." Anquetil then, speaking of the Vendidad portion of the manuscript, says that the copy of it was made on roz Dep Meher Mah Dee 1127 Yazdazerd (i.e., 1758 A.D.). He then adds, that the rest of the Volume was written by old Darab in 1760 A. D. M. E. Blochet, in his Catalogue¹ of the Parsee books in the National Library of Paris, gives a Note in the hand of Anquetil on this Volume, which, when translated runs thus : "Manuscript of Zoroaster with the Pahlavi translation of the Pazend, and stripped, by Dastur Darab, of superfluous commentaries which disfigure the manuscript of Muncherjee." He had also written several Nyayashes and Yashts, which form a part of the manuscript referred to by M. Blochet,² as "Supplement persan 49." It is the colophon at the end of the Ormazd Yasht in this manuscript that we have given above.

Again, M. Blochet³ quotes Anquetil's notes written in his own hand on his manuscript translations of Parsee books, which lead to show, that Anquetil's translations were mostly translations dictated by Dastur Darab. In his manuscript translation of the Vendidad (Traduction du Vendidad Sadé) he writes : "Traduction du manuscrit de Zerdust (Zoroastre), législateur des Parsis (anciens Persans, Guèbres), commencée à Surate le 30 mars 1750, sous la dictée du Destour ou Adarou (pretre de la loy) Dârâb, parsi, mohed instruit par le destour Djamasp, venu du Kerman il y a 35 ans."

Thus, we see that Darab was a learned priest who had written several Avesta Pahlavi manuscripts. Anquetil speaks of him as "more learned than others."⁴ He also gives the opinion of Dastur Jamshed of Naosari, the son of the well-known Dastur Jamasp, that he was the best learned man among the Parsees of India. (Il m'avoua que Darab, . . . étoit le plus habile Destour de l'Inde).⁵ In another place, he speaks of him as "more able and sincere" (plus habile et plus sincere).⁶

The Old Persian manuscript of the above Ithoter Revayet, written by Dastur Darab's above-mentioned pupil, Dastur Kaus Rustam, which now belongs to the Moola Darab's death. Feroze Library of Bombay, has the following note at the end, in the hand of the writer (i.e., Dastur Kaus).⁷

¹ Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens de la Bibliothèque Nationale, p. 8.

² *Ibid.* p. 23. ³ *Ibid.* p. 107.

⁴ Tome 1, p. 1, p. 327.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 428.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 317.

⁷ It bears No. 351 of the Catalogue of the Moola Feroze Library. I have seen another old manuscript of this Revayet, but without any note, in the possession of Erwad Manockji Rustomji Unvala, written on roz. 1, mah 6, 1215, Shrahanshai Yazdazardi. A Gujarati translation of this Revayet was published in 1846.

وفات دستور دستوران زمان و یگانه حسن اخلاق عهد واران
استادی ام دستور داراب ولد سهراب روز بهمن امشاسفند و
اسفندار مد ماه قدیمی سنه یزدجردی رحمت خدا پوست
خدایش بنور رحمت یزدی پیاموزاد کتبه بنده کاوس ابن
مرحوم موبد رستم

Translation.—The Death of Dastur Darab, (who was) the Dastur of the Dasturs of his time, (who was) the son of Sohrab, who was matchless among the good-tempered men of all ages and who was my preceptor, (occurred on) roz Bahman Amshâspand and Mah Asfandarmad Kadimi, year Yazdazardi... May the mercy of God, may the help of God pardon (his faults) by (the help of) the splendour of divine kindness. The writer (of this) is Kaus, the son of the late Mobad Rustam.

The above manuscript also gives the day of the death of Dastur Kaus (Kaus Munajjam ibn Dastur Faredun), as roz Aniran mah Farvardin Kadimi.

Thus, the above note gives the roz mah, *i.e.*, the day and the month of Darab's death as roz 2 Bahman, mah 12 Asfandarmad Kadimi. Dastur Darab's present descendants celebrate the anniversaries of his death on this day. So, there is no doubt about the day and month. But the above manuscript does not give the year. The author of the Parsee Prakash gives the year as 1141 Yazdazardi. He seems to have given the date on the authority of the late Dastur Rustomji Mobedji of Surat, a lineal fourth descendant of Dastur Darab, who died in 1891. The author had gone to Surat before 1878, the date of the publication of the first part of his work. Thus, the Christian date of his death, as given in the Parsee Prakash, is 12th August 1772. But the abovementioned oldest manuscript of the Ithoter Revayet seems to throw some doubt upon the year. Among the persons to whom the Revayet is addressed, we find Dastur Darab's name as said above. This Revayet bears the date of roz 6 Khordad, mah 8 Aban, 1142 Yazdazardi. So, it seems to have been written about 8 months and 4 days *after* the above date of his death, *vis.*, roz. 2, mah 11, 1141 Yazdazardi. This manuscript then leads to show that he was living at the above alleged date of his death. But, perhaps, one can thus explain away the difference. He may have died at the date given above, but the news of his death may not have reached the Dasturs of Persia, who addressed the Revayet to him among others. Those were the times of a very slow communication between distant countries. So, during the intervening 8 months, the news may not have reached Persia. The above fact of the manuscript of Dastur Kaus giving the day and month but not the year of his

death also is explained on the above supposition of a delatory communication. Dastur Kaus, the writer of the manuscript was in Persia at the time. He himself was one of the messengers of the questions replied to in the Revayet. He may have heard latterly that Dastur Darab died on roz Bahman mah Asfandarmad, but the year may not have been communicated to him. So, on learning the news and the date, he took a note of the event in his manuscript, giving the day and month as given to him, but not the year which he did not know, at the time.

The author of the Parsee Prakash gives his age at the time of his death as 75. This also seems to be on the authority of the family tradition and information. We

His age at the time of death.

have other grounds also to believe that he died at a good old age. We take it, that he died in 1141 Yazdazardi and not earlier. If anything it may be later, because, the above Ithoter Revayet, which is addressed to him, is dated 1142. Now we saw above, that his manuscript Vendidad in the Bibliothèque Nationale is dated 1091 Yazdazardi (A. D. 1722) i.e., 50 years before the date of his death. To write such a manuscript with Pahlavi and Pazend colophons requires at least some good knowledge of the languages. So, to suppose that he was about 24 at the time when he wrote the Vendidad is not supposing much. Thus, we see that he lived a pretty good old age, and that the age assigned to him by his descendants is probably correct. Anquetil, also when he speaks of Darab, now and then speaks of him as old Darab (vieux Darab).¹

A Table of events of Dastur Darab's Life.

We will conclude this notice of Dastur Darab's life with a short table, showing the dates of some few known events of his life :—

Events.								A. D.
Birth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1698
Took a few lessons with Jamasp Velayati from Persia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1721
The date of a colophon in Pahlavi and Persian at the end of some Avesta writings in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1722
Took a few lessons with Jamshed Velayati from Persia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1736
Joined the Kadimi sect and became the High Priest of the sect.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1745
Wrote two postscripts to a manuscript of the Vendidad which he had caused to be written	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1746
Began teaching Avesta and Pahlavi to his pupil Anquetil Du Perron at Surat...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1758

¹ For example, *vide* Zend Avesta, Tom. I, Partie II, Notice V, p. VIII.

Events.

A. D.

Corrected a manuscript of the Vendidad written by an unnamed copyist in 1127 yazdazardi	1758
Wrote the latter portion of the above manuscript containing the Visparad, Sarosh Hadokht, Sirouze, &c.	1760
Sued Anquetil Du Perron for money due to him before his departure for Europe... ..	1761
Death	1772

III

II.—AN ACCOUNT OF ANQUETIL'S PUPILAGE BEFORE DASTUR DARAB AND OF HIS STUDIES ON ZOROASTRIANISM, AS DESCRIBED BY HIMSELF.

We will treat this part of the subject under two heads :—

(A) We will first give a running account of Anquetil's narration about his studies and his relations with the Dasturs, especially with Dastur Darab.

(B) We will then examine his statements and see, how far they are correct and supported by facts, and how far they are wrong as shown by his own contradictions and from other facts and circumstances.

(A) ANQUETIL'S ACCOUNT OF HIS STUDIES UNDER DASTUR DARAB.

We find from Anquetil's account of his travels, that the Parsi Dasturs, under whom he learnt at Surat, are first referred to in his account of his stay at Chandarnagar. A short time after his arrival at Chandarnagar, on 22nd April 1756, he got disgusted with the state of affairs there, and thought of going to Benares to study Sanskrit. At the same time, he had written a letter to M. Le Verrier, Chief of the French Factory at Surat, and sent him "two lines written in Zend characters accompanied with translation."¹ Then, illness made him unsteady and he thought of entering the Church in the Company of the Jesuits there. Then, there arose a likelihood of the Nabob of Cassimbazar in Bengal, trying to drive away the English from Bengal and the consequent likelihood of a war between the French and the English. When he was in this state of hesitation, confusion and unsteadiness, there came good news from the Dasturs of Surat which, as he says, fixed his uncertainty (*fixa mes incertitudes*),² "It was the reply of M. Le Verrier, which informed me that the Parsees had read the lines which I had sent him, that it was modern Persian, written in Zend characters. He (M. Le Verrier) added

¹ Zend Avesta, Tome 1, p. 1, p. 8.

² *Ibid.* p. 9.

that their Doctors (*i.e.*, the Dasturs of the Parsees) had showed him the books of Zoroaster, more particularly, the Zend and Pahlavi Vendidad and that they had promised to explain to me this work and to teach me their ancient languages. This news restores to me all my health, and my departure (for Surat) is resolved upon." Then, just when he had put his things on board a vessel, there arrived the news, that war had broken out between France and England. He thereupon exclaims "What a situation ! The books of Zoroaster exist. They (the Dasturs) are going to give them (and) explain them to me I am driven asunder from what is very dear to me for the purpose of enriching my country with this treasure." ¹

These statements of Anquetil, based on the information he had received from the Chief of the French Factory at Surat, show, that the Parsee Dasturs of Surat were, from the very beginning, even before they saw him, willing to give him the necessary books and instruction. They contradict his later belaboured statements, that the Dasturs hesitated to help him with books and instruction.

Anquetil returned from Chandarnagar to Pondicherry. From there, he started for Surat, where he arrived on 1st May 1758. He, at first, stayed with his brother at the French Factory. He rested there for several days (*quelques jours*) to recover from the fatigue of the journey. He took some time to recover from the effects of dysentery which he had caught during the journey. This seems to have taken about two months. Then, he had an interview with the Dasturs. It was about three months after his arrival at Surat (*après trois mois de séjour à Surate*) that he got an Avesta manuscript. Anquetil thus describes his interview with the Dasturs and his first attempt to learn. ²

"After several communications (*lit. goings and comings*) I saw (*lit. made appear before me*) the Parsee Doctors, for whom I had made the voyage to Surat and from whom I had to learn the religion of Zoroaster. They were Dasturs Darab and Kaus, chiefs of one of the parties which divided the Parsees of Surat (one will see, later on, the origin of this division). At first, there was only the question of manuscripts which they claimed to have come from their Legislator. They must copy that for me for Rs. 100. That (copying) would take time ; and pressed to make up for the years which I believed to have been lost, I would have wished to commence at once, the study of their ancient languages. I saw from that time, the manœuvres of the people of the (French)

¹ *Ibid.* p. 41

² P. 313.

factory. They sought to push themselves forward, and disliked, that I should soon accomplish the fact. I resolved to do without them and to conduct my affairs myself. For that reason, it was necessary to leave the French Factory, where I was much pinched, and where I already felt that I was an embarrassment.

"This disappointment touched me less than the conduct of my Dasturs. Their slowness vexed me. After three months of stay at Surat, I received at last the manuscript, which they had promised. It was the *Vendidad*, the 20th Volume of their Legislator, a volume in quarto, written in Zend and Pahlavi. I then did not notice that it was mutilated and altered, as I found it later on. After having paid them the price, I expected to begin at once the study of this book. But the Andarous (*i.e.*, the priests), who did not like my advancing very fast, wished me to commence with the alphabet. I took in reality what they gave me and that helped me to distinguish promptly the characters in which the *Vendidad* was written.

"These first steps did not please my Dasturs who believed, I would almost slip from their hands. Their replies to the questions which I made to them were very reserved. They affected a mysterious tone, which they believed was proper to make their lessons conspicuous. Their visits were interrupted by long absences always under the pretence of dangers which they ran in (coming to and) going out of my place. Once before, they spoke to me of large sums, which Mr. Fraser had offered to them in order to have Pahlavi manuscripts, and of the recompense which was expected in England by one who would translate their sacred books.

"As long as M. Verrier remained in Surat, it was not possible for me to draw out from the Dasturs any other thing (*i.e.* manuscript or instruction), except the Zend and Pahlavi *Vendidad* and some general explanations on their religion. To call upon them to fulfil their promise would be labour lost. Also, noticing that the French Chief had little regard for me, they imperceptibly receded.

"I was thus in the most sad situation exposed to the treatment which I had experienced in Bengal. They refused me every thing at the French Factory, and that with a sort of contempt, which could not but alienate from me the people of the country. It was necessary to formally summon (for justice) the French Chief (*i.e.*, the Chief of the French Factory) and to lodge a bitter complaint against his behaviour before the Supreme Court."

M. Taillefer was the head of the Dutch Factory at the time, and, as said above, Muncherjee Seth, the leader (le premier) of the Parsees of Surat was his broker. Anquetil thought, that either Muncherjee or his Dastur (i.e., the Dastur of his Shâhânsâhi sect), must have a copy of the (Vendidad) manuscript which the Dasturs of M. Le Verrier (i.e., the Kadimi Dasturs introduced by the Chief of the French Factory) had copied for him. He adds "Besides this, as he was a personal enemy of my Dasturs, the comparison of his copy with that of theirs would prove the authority of that of Darab. That was the means to discover the truth." M. Taillefer sent to Anquetil, Muncherjee Seth's copy of the Vendidad at the end of November 1758, informing him, that he was assured, that that was the most authentic and correct copy in Surat. He was also requested to take care, that no leaves were lost, and that it may be returned as soon as possible. Anquetil compared his copy, letter by letter, with Muncherjee's copy and found much difference. So, he asked permission to keep the copy a little longer, in order that he may make extracts of all the differences. M. Taillefer replied, promising to speak to Muncherjee about it. In the meantime, Anquetil commenced noting the differences. He did not speak to his Dasturs about Muncherjee's copy, lest the shame of seeing themselves confounded may lead them to divulge the fact of Muncherjee's assistance to others, and hence to the demand of withdrawal of the manuscript by Muncherjee. "Besides," he adds, "seeing me short of money, they rendered themselves scarce. They scarcely appeared once a fortnight. At last, in order to ascertain, on which (copy) should I depend for the differences which I found in the two manuscripts which were given to me as the same, I gently questioned my Dasturs." Anquetil does not say, what reply the Dasturs gave to his gentle questions, but adds : "It was also with this view, that I paid them sufficiently well for some Persian works which they sought to get rid of, and induced them to bring to me a small Pahlavi and Persian Dictionary, which they had promised me and which some pretexts, invented opportunely, had prevented them from bringing.

Early in January 1759, M. Le Verrier left Surat and was succeeded by Anquetil's brother, as the Chief of the French Factory. Early in February, he questioned Dastur Kaus about the differences between the manuscripts which he and Darab had given, and other manuscripts of the Vendidad, and showed to him the manuscript of Muncherjee. Anquetil says, that Kaus, at first, got pale on seeing Muncherjee's manuscript, and then maintained that the

Affairs with
the Dasturs
after M. Le
Verrier's De-
parture.

manuscript given by him was correct. At last, Kaus left Anquetil in rather a bad mood (*mauvaise humeur*). But not so Dastur Darab, who, he says, was more able and sincere (*plus habile et plus sincere*)¹. He saw that I could no longer be imposed upon, and brought me a copy perfectly similar to that of Muncherjee, assuring me, that all the copies of the Vendidad resembled that which he had presented, and that the copy, which he had given me at first, was corrected in the Pahlavi translation. But in the Zend, there were only some less important transpositions and changes of letters. He promised me at the same time to bring me a manuscript exactly similar to that of Muncherjee, and also a copy, all in Zend, without the Pahlavi translation. These advances were accompanied with a Pahlavi and Persian vocabulary of which I have spoken above, and with some other manuscripts both in modern Persian and in ancient Persian, and a small history "in verse of the retreat of the Parsees to India."²

Anquetil then gives a short account of the retreat of the Parsees to India, based on the last-named book, and gives an account of some of the controversial questions, which then divided the Parsees. I have referred at some length to these two matters in my previous paper.

Anquetil then says, that one of the several controversial questions (*viz.*, the third) helped his cause, because one of the two parties, the Kadimi, thought of having the Chief of the French Factory on their side. He says: "Under the Government of Ali Nawazkhan, who favoured Muncherjee, it was natural that Darab and those who were attached to him looked for some help which could support them against the fury of the opposite party. They, therefore, promised, as I have already said, M. Le Verrier, the French Chief at Surat, to communicate to me, on (the subject of) Zend and Pahlavi, all the information they could possess, thereby counting upon the protection of the French as a bulwark against Muncherjee. But they did not think that I desired to translate, nor was I able to translate, their books. The Vendidad alone is a book divided into 22 sections. Darab had taken 16 years to teach six (sections) to his disciples. How then, can an

¹ P. 317.

² This History in Persian verse is the *Kuseh-i-Sanjan*, written in 969 Yezdazardi (1600 A. D.) by Bahman Kakebad of Naosari. Eastwick translated it in Vol. I (p. 180 *et seq.*) of the *Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society*. I have embodied a good portion of it in my book, "A few events in the Early History of the Parsees and their dates" (1905). The Persian Text of this poem is recently published for the first time, with translations in English and Gujarati by the Fort Printing Press under the Editorship of Mr. Rustam B. Pavmaster.

European, with the aid of modern Persian, read in a few years, Zend and Pahlavi, understand the two languages which existed nowhere but in the books, and translate the works, of which the most able Dasturs had hardly grasped the purport : They had consented to give me lessons in Zend and Pahlavi ; and when in comparing the two copies of the Vendidad which were in my hands, I got sufficiently well familiar with the Zend characters, without losing time, I wished to take lessons in that work, of which I was sure of having possessed one faithful copy. I could now devote myself entirely to this work, because I had now done away with an old *akon* (*آخون* *i.e.*, teacher) of Persian, who was procured for me by one of my friends and whose slowness in teaching and whose explanation did not satisfy me. Those persons (*i.e.*, the Dasturs) swore according to their custom and by their books and I asked for the reasons.

“ In order not to displease Darab, who thought of keeping me for one year on the alphabet, I requested him to show me rare and precious Zend manuscripts, promising to purchase two Persian manuscripts which embarrassed him (*i.e.*, which he did not want). When I got those books, I threatened to abandon (*i.e.*, to expose) him and his relative Kaus before Muncherjee, their principal enemy, if he refused to help me to translate the Vendidad in modern Persian. The stratagem succeeded. However, when he saw me writing down what he dictated, turning to him for all interpretations, and hearing him only with precaution, he was seized with fear, because, he thought, I wanted to know thoroughly the dogmas of his religion. I did not see him for more than a month. He pretended that his death was certain, if the other Dasturs knew what he was doing at my place. Kaus asserted that I exacted (the knowledge of) things, which their conscience did not permit them to give, and for which they were not engaged. But the manuscripts, which I had, made them reflect. The fear of losing them swept away his scruples and Darab consented to what I demanded.”

Anquetil adds : “ Their (the Dasturs') fears were not ill-founded.

Anquetil's conduct in the matter of Muncherjee's manuscript.

Muncherjee himself, knowing of the use which I made of his manuscript was not more tranquil than Darab. He was afraid, that Dastur Bikh¹ (Bhikah or Bhikhaji), his Doctor (*i.e.*, Dastur), was informed of it. Seeing that I kept it (*i.e.*, Dastur Bhikhaji's manuscript) for several months, he demanded it from me, through the Dutch Chief to whom he had lent it. My reply was polite and firm. I explained to M. Taillafer, that having commenced to

¹ It was the manuscript of this Dastur that Muncherjee had lent to Anquetil.

note the differences, which were found between the manuscript of Muncherjee and that of my Dasturs, it was not natural that I should leave this work incomplete. My reasons did not please the Dutch, with whom, since one or two months, I had no close relations. They came well-nigh to menaces. I also knew that a member of their council, an ill-natured person, had offered to come to my house with a troop of soldiers to take away the manuscript in question. The Dutch Chief, who was more prudent, did not like to stoop to such ways of action. He loved (*i.e.*, was a man of) letters, and I was sure, that, from the bottom of his heart, he did not blame my firmness, though he was obliged to show to his broker (Muncherjee) that he was prepared to do what he wanted him to do. The only precaution which I took was to have over my table two loaded pistols, and I continued my work which lasted for four months, after which I returned the manuscript in good order.

“ The scruple of the Parsee Dasturs being surmounted and their small ruses frustrated, there remained nothing for me but to conquer the difficulties proper for the kind of study which I had commenced, and the embarrassment inseparable from a civil war. The English had then besieged the fortress. It was necessary to put in security one's own things (and) those of the factory and to be always on the alert. These troubles at first kept away my Dasturs who re-appeared at the end of some time.

Further progress. “ Finding myself sufficiently strong to commence the Zend books, and impatient to regain (*i.e.*, make up for) the months which I had seen pass away in the midst of these troubles, without any sensible progress, I passed some days in fortifying myself in the reading of the Vendidad and in translating, over the Persian interlineary, the Pahlavi and Persian vocabulary of which I have spoken above.

“ This work, the first of its kind which an European had ever done, appeared to me an event in literature and I noted its time, which was the 24th of March 1759 of Jesus Christ, the day Amardâd, the sixth¹ of the month Meher of the year 1128 of Yazdazard, the year 1172 of Hijri and 1813 of the reign of Raja Bikarmajet.

“ The commencements were sufficiently unfruitful, but I had learnt at my expense to have patience ; and expecting to succeed in the work which I had undertaken, I informed the Governor of Pondicherry of the success of my attempts, telling him of the ruse of my Parsis and of the means, which I had employed to expose them and to assure myself about

¹ It is a mistake, as Amardâd is the seventh day.

the authenticity of the manuscript, which they pretended to be that of Zoroaster.

"After having acquired some Zend and Sanskrit books; I commenced the translation of the Vendidad on 30th March. Modern Persian served me as the intermediary language, because Darab, afraid of being heard by my domestic servant, would not have wished me to unravel in the vulgar language the mysteries of his religion. I wrote everything. I was careful to mark the reading of Zend and Pahlavi in European characters. I then compared the passages, which appeared to be the same, to assure myself of the lessons of Darab. By these means, the most vexatious accidents and sicknesses, however long they could be, had nothing more to frighten me. I was always in a condition to resume my studies at the point, where I had left them, and assured against the fear of forgetting it, the tranquillity of my spirit could not but hasten my recovery.

"These precautions were very necessary. They had the result which I expected. My health suffered several times through application (to study) and through the kind of life I led. A plate of rice and lentils formed all my food. The time, which I did not spend with my Dastur, was employed to revise what I had read with him and to prepare the work for the next day. After dinner, I could not give myself up to light sleep, which they have in a hot country, because, once it served as an excuse for absence to Darab, who pretended, that, when he knocked, I did not open the door to him. In the evening, I refreshed myself for an hour or two, taking (fresh) air over my terrace, my mind being always occupied with uncertainty of the success of my researches and with the manner in which these researches would be received in Europe."

From his chamber in the English Factory, where he had to remain confined, for some time after his duel with a Frenchman, he asked Nanabhai (Nanabye), the Modi (Moudi), *i.e.*, the Commissariat contractor of the English, to write to Naosari and make inquiries about the Nirangestan, brought by Dastur Jamasp from Iran. On 7th October 1759, he was shown the reply from Naosari to the effect that they knew nothing as to what became of the manuscript.

On recovering a little from the effect of his wounds, Anquetil took separate quarters to live in, though still under the protection of the English Factory. He resumed the work of translation on 10th November 1759 with Dastur Darab. He says: "The translation of the additional parts in Muncherjee's manuscript of the Vendidad was followed by that of Izashneh, of Visparad, of the volume

of the *Niayeshes* and *yashts*, &c., of the collection of *Pahlavi Revayets*, which, among other interesting pieces, contained the *Bundehesh*, of the *Sirouzeh*, of the *Vajarkard*, of several *Revayets* and of other Persian pieces, which Darab communicated to me. A sustained application made me at the end of several months, so much acquainted with the languages, with the ancient history, and with the religion and usages of the *Parsees*, that Darab would not have dared (to impose), and, at the same time, could not have imposed upon me; and when he would have stopped (giving me) the lessons, as I had written down everything, I would have been in a position to interpret to myself the few works which remained for me to be translated. So, he was particular and did not dare to refuse to give me the explanations which I asked".

The departure from *Surat* of Mr. Spencer, the Chief of the English Factory, and the position of insecurity of the French Factors, kept him at home, *i.e.*, he did not dare to stir out. This was rather to his advantage, because being thus confined at home, he advanced rapidly in his studies. Again, the fear, lest the fall of *Pondicherry* may come in the way of his progress, forced him to attend to his work continuously.

Again his stay under the protection of the English, who were then in the ascendancy at *Surat*, brought their credit to his aid and added to his influence. On the recommendation of Mr. Spencer, *Faraskhan* lent him his copy of *Persian Burzou-nâmeh*. It was the only copy in *Surat* at the time and he took a copy of it. It was incomplete at the end, and Mr. Spencer had undertaken to get the last part of it for him from *Delhi* from the Agent of the English Factory there, together with the text and the Persian translation of the *Vedas* by the pen of *Faizi*, the brother of *Abou Fazal*, and with books on the History of *India* and *Tartary*.

In April 1760, he was permitted by the French authorities to go back to the protection of the French Factory.

His account of further studies. He then says: "I made great advance in the knowledge of the mysteries of the language and of the history of the *Parsees*. I found every day some new books to be purchased, and my brother, authorised in that matter by M. de *Leyrit*, supported with his authority the proposals which I made to the *Dasturs*. Besides this, when they (the *Dasturs*) saw, that I was in a position to do without them, they no longer dared to refuse me. They employed a thousand means to make themselves necessary (*i.e.*, to show that their services were necessary to me), to delay and to increase the price of the manuscripts. They were aided in these manœuvres by the

interpreter of the factory, a good Parsee, honest man and obliging also, but little rich and partly interested. Having been habituated with the little ruses of my Dasturs, it was easy for me to find them out, and often, they themselves were the dupes (of their ruses). The interpreter of the factory was the friend of a young¹ Dastur of the party of Muncherjee, named Shapur, whose father he would have liked to produce (*i.e.*, to bring before me) in the place of Darab. Unfortunately for him, according to the confession itself of these new Dasturs, I knew more of Zend and Pahlavi than their whole party did. However, I drew some advantage from this new acquaintance. They held my Dasturs in respect. Both the sides, out of enmity for each other, furnished me with the books which I wished to have, and exposed each other.

“ There happened one day, on this subject, in the presence of the Chief of the factory, a scene which finished in a very pleasant manner. I had discovered, that Darab had given me as complete, a very costly book (a part of the *Grand Revayet*) which was not complete. This wise master, whom his religion prohibited to swear, protested by what he had the most sacred, that he said the truth. I was angry with him and threatened him. Darab appealed against me before my brother to whom I had sent the pieces of the process (*les pieces du procès, i.e.*, all the papers for action). He thought of imposing upon a person who did not understand the language. The people of the factory, *i.e.*, the Bania and the interpreter were present. Mildness only made him more firm in his fresh assertion (and) threats made no effect. Then, there appeared Shapur,² like a god from a machine ; (*tanquam Deus ex machinâ*) who reproached him for the boldness with which he maintained the imposture, and showed him at once the manuscript, which he assured was complete. The latter (*i.e.*, Darab), without being disconcerted, laughed, admitted that he had at home several sheets of the same book, and quietly said that he will furnish them, if the price of the book will be increased. The condition was accepted and Darab retired, I do not say without confusion, but without showing how the scene that had happened had concerned him.”

¹ Dastur Shapurji Manockjee Sanjana (1735-1805), who was about 25 years of age at this time. This Dastur Shapur seems to be the well-known Dastur Shapurjee Sanjana, who wrote the *Kisseh-i-Zarthushtian-i-Hindustan* and who died in 1805 aged 75 (*Vide* my “ Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana, p. 45. *Journal, B. B. R. A. Society*, Vol. XXI, Art. VIII, p. 113.)

² *Vide* above for this Dastur.

After describing at some length his pupilage under Darab and his self-study, Anquetil describes his visit to a Parsee Fire-temple. As I have to speak of this principal subject at some length under a different head, I will complete the present subject with an account of Anquetil's visit to the Parsee Towers of Silence, and of the few events that happened in connection with his relations with Dastur Darab.

The end of his studies and visit to a Parsee Temple and Towers of Silence.

Anquetil's visit to the Parsee Towers of Silence at Surat. After his alleged visit to the sacred Fire-temple, Anquetil visited the Towers of Silence. He thus describes this visit :

" After some time, I went out of Surat to see the Dokhmas (Dakhmés, les Cimetieres) of the Parsees. They are sorts of round towers, of which the walls are made of square stones and which can have 15 toise¹ of diameter. While I was going round these cemeteries, of which the walls were pounced upon by an army of ravens, wading birds and other carnivorous birds, several Parsees, who saw me from a distance, murmured against my curiosity. In the meantime, there came a funeral procession, for which I was obliged to withdraw. From the place where I stopped, I saw the Nasasalars' make the sag-did² (i.e., present the dog) and carry the body into the Dakhme. Then, the procession, which had stopped at more than 80 steps from there, returned praying, the men in (pairs of) two and holding each other by the sleeve, in the same way as they did when going. On my return, the murmurs increased. In the streets of Surat, several Parsees spoke loudly, that I had desecrated the place of their sepulchre. But these complaints had no other consequences, and when I felt myself in breath, I went to see the place where the Hindus burnt their dead."

In the second volume of his work (pp. 587-91), Anquetil gives a detailed description of the Towers. He derives the word dakhmé from Dâetio-maneio and takes dâetio-gateiâo (dâdgâh) as a corresponding word, and takes the meaning of the word to be "a proper place to receive the recompense of one's actions." He describes at some length the construction of the Towers and the ceremony of the *kânâ*, i.e., of laying the foundation stone of the Tower. According to his description, there were three Towers at Surat during his time. He gives the measurements of the walls and of some other parts of the Towers. At the end of his description, he refers to the accounts of the Towers

¹ A toise is 6'3.450 feet, about a fathom.

² I *vide* my "Funeral ceremonies of the Parsis" for this word.

³ *Ibid.*

by Hyde, Lord and Mandelso, and points out that some parts of their versions are not correct.

He finished his studies of Parseeism in September 1760. By this time, he also finished his translations with Dastur Darab. The study of the subjects of the Parsees being finished, he thought himself strong enough for the study of Hinduism. He then travelled in the Salsette and went as far as the Elephanta caves. On his way thither and back, he passed through Oodwara, Nargol and Nausari. I have given an account of his very short visits to these Parsee towns and of his reference to Sanjan in my preceding paper. On his return to Surat, he arranged for his departure from India. After being refused a passage by the various European factories, he was able to secure one from the English on one of their ships.

Anquetil, having arranged for the passage money, sent his baggage on board the English vessel which was first to go to Bombay. Then a fresh difficulty arose, and he was asked to unload his baggage from the vessel.

Complaint of
non-payment by
the Dasturs.

The Dasturs lodged a complaint against him, saying, that he had not paid what was due to them, both for the manuscripts they had supplied him and for the tuition they had given him. He says: "I guessed the hand which brought about this. Dastur Kaus, the relative of Darab had never approved of his (Darab's) complaisance, and the latter, in despair, to see me go away so quickly, flattered himself, to be able, by the help of the English on whom I then depended, to detain my goods, or, at least, to oblige me to give him some considerable sum as compensation for the time for which he would have still wished to be under my pay¹. The capture of Pondicherry had emboldened them. The name of France appeared to have been reduced to nothing in India. It was then necessary to prove that all that I carried (with me to Europe) belonged to me legitimately². The altercation went on in the presence of the English Chief. It was lively. I threatened this Chief, that I would carry the matter to Bombay, where I would also summon himself. I was in those moments of despair when one respects nothing. The English distinguished easily that the Parsi Dasturs only sought to prevent the carrying of their books to Europe, or, at least, to turn to account the state of oppression in which they saw us. My brother, in order to cut short their

¹ This sentence shows that Anquetil was sued by the Dasturs for their tuition fees also.

² This sentence shows that he was also sued for the price of books which he had purchased from the Dasturs, and for which he had not paid.

pursuits, stood security for me, and when they saw that the English were satisfied with his word, they (the Dasturs) disappeared. This quarrel brought in again the pain of gout and I passed in bed the little time that had to pass till the departure of the ship." ¹

Anquetil's statement about the movement of the Dasturs, to restrain

Anquetil's allegations against the Dasturs' attempt to detain his goods before his departure from Surat.

his goods till the money due to them was paid, carries its own condemnation.

(a) According to him, when he heard of the order of detention, he at once guessed, at whose instance his goods were to be disembarked from the vessel. His guess seems to be the result of his knowledge, that he had not paid to Darab and Kaus what was due to them.

(b) He alleges, that it was rather an instigation on the part of Dastur Kaus who did not like Dastur Darab's kindness to him. If Darab, in spite of Kaus's dislike and displeasure, showed kindness or complaisance to Anquetil, as said by himself, during all the years that he was under his tuition, how can Darab lend an easy ear to his cousin now? If Kaus did not prevail upon Darab during all the time that Anquetil was under his tuition, how was he likely to prevail at the last moment? Darab would not consent to give any bad look to his continuous kindness by accepting a bad piece of advice from his cousin.

(c) Again, the English, who kindly took Anquetil under their protection in spite of the then war between them and the French, and in spite of his rather ungrateful conduct towards them on account of the incident of the sepoy's guard, would not consent to bring him into any difficulty at the last moment, unless they saw, that the Dasturs had a strong case against him. The very fact, that Anquetil threatened to carry the matter to the notice of the Bombay authorities, but did not or could not do so, shows that the authorities at Surat had decided the matter against him after mature consideration.

(d) Anquetil himself has confessed in his previous account, that the Dasturs had made themselves scarce because he was short of money. He said: "Besides, seeing me short of money they rendered themselves scarce. They scarcely appeared once a fortnight." This very fact shows, that Anquetil had begun running into their debt, owing to his shortness of money. He nowhere says afterwards that he paid them what was their due.

(e) If Anquetil had paid the Dasturs for all the manuscripts which they sold him or wrote for him, why did he not produce their receipts? It must be expected, that in those times, when the Europeans were not well-established here, a man like Anquetil must receive acknowledgments for all payments made by him.

(f) Again, the very fact, that Anquetil's brother thought it advisable to stand as a surety or security for the payment, shows, that he saw through the matter, and found, that money was due to the Dasturs. In connection with this matter, it is worth noting, that Anquetil, nowhere during his long description of his travels in India, says what he ever paid to Dastur Darab or to Dastur Kaus, though he says in one place (in the early account of his first stay at Pondicherry), that he asked for and received further help from the French Factory on the ground of having to pay to the Dasturs.

(g) Anquetil complains, that the financial affairs of the French Factory at Surat were so bad for more than a year, that he was not paid his stipends for a year. If that was the case, how could he have paid the Dasturs for the manuscripts they had written for him during the year, and how could he have paid Darab for the tuition that he gave during the year? This fact clearly shows, that the claim of the Dasturs was good.

(h) Lastly, one has to bear in mind, that, as said below, just when on the point of leaving Surat, Anquetil, as it were, through the biting of the inner conscience, said that he had not paid the Dasturs as he ought to have paid them.

Anquetil left Surat on 15th March 1761. At the time of departure, he gives an expression to his innermost real feelings, that it was not possible for him in the position of poverty, in which he was then, to have recognized the claims and merits of those with whom he was long connected. Among these, he mentions the Dasturs also. He says he was "moved to see myself in (a condition of) impossibility to recognize the services of my servants, of the people of the factory, of the interpreter Manockjee, and also to recognize, as I believed they merited, the Dasturs Darab and Kaus whose bad behaviour I have already forgotten".

Before proceeding further to examine, how far Anquetil's statements about his visit to the Fire Temple are true, we will see, how far all his statements about the Dasturs, and about his relations with the Dasturs, are true.

IV.

**(B) AN EXAMINATION OF ANQUETIL'S ABOVE ACCOUNT
WITH A VIEW TO SEE HOW FAR IT IS TRUE.**

From the very commencement, Anquetil shows a quarrelsome or fault-finding disposition towards the Dasturs. When we see him finding fault with M. Le Verrier, the Chief of his own French Factory at Surat, we do not wonder at his finding fault with the poor Dasturs. M. Le Verrier had, long before he arrived at Surat, worked on his behalf and secured for him promises of help from the Dasturs. He had informed him of this when he was at Chandarnagar, and it was this information that had cheered him in his unsteady thoughts, while there. In spite of that, no sooner he comes to Surat, within less than two months, he begins to complain about him and threatens to represent the matter to the higher authorities at Pondicherry. He even leaves the French Factory and finds quarters elsewhere. There is no wonder, that a man of the disposition of Anquetil, who thus finds fault with his own countryman who had obliged him, should find fault with the Dasturs. He lays the following charges against the Dasturs :—

1. They were dilatory in their teaching.
2. They were not well-inclined to teach.
3. They remained absent for long intervals.

His first charge against the Dasturs was, that they were dilatory in teaching. Laying aside the time required for direct journey from Pondicherry to Surat and for preliminary settlement and preparations, we find that Anquetil lost about two years and a half in journey which had nothing to do with his Avesta studies. He himself says, that he believed, that they were years lost (*Lès années que je croyois avoir perdues*¹). He was unsteady in his aims and objects. During the 2½ years between the time of his arrival in India and his arrival at Surat, he more than once changed his mind about the object of his life. At Chandarnagar he thought of giving up his object of study and of joining the Church. Then, he thought of going to Banares to study Sanskrit there. At Pondicherry, where he returned from Chandarnagar, he thought of giving up his idea of study and of retiring to Europe. Having thus wasted his time in work other than that for which he had come to India, he seems to be in a hot hurry or "pressed" to regain the lost years (*pressé de regagner les années*) to pursue his

¹ Tome I, P. I., p. 313

studies, and finds fault with the Dasturs as being dilatory. He had wasted his time, and was wasting it to a certain extent even in Surat, and he attempts to make his poor Dastur teachers scape-goats before his compatriots for that waste, and to boast that he learnt under great difficulties.

He says : " I expected to begin at once the study of this book. But the Andarous (*i.e.*, the priests), who did not like my advancing very fast wish me to commence with the alphabet." One might say that, what the Dasturs did, was right at least from their point of view. A good teacher would always like, that his pupil may be well-grounded in the first steps. Many old Avesta books of miscellaneous contents begin with the alphabet.¹ To a certain extent, that was perhaps more necessary in the case of a foreigner like Anquetil. We find from his account of his stay at Chandarnagar, that he sent to Surat from there "two lines written in Zend characters accompanied with translation."² Anquetil seems to have studied Zend characters from Dr. Hyde's "*Historia Religionis veterum Persarum*." What he wrote in Zend characters was Persian which he had learnt and which he could therefore translate. He seems to have thought, that what he wrote and translated was Avesta. So, the Dasturs to whom the lines were shown by M. Le Verrier informed him that they were not Zend (Avesta) but "modern Persian written in Zend characters."³ It was a mistake, into which, as Anquetil himself says, one of the English Professors at Oxford had fallen and which he corrected during his visit of Oxford (*Je lui fis voir qu ce qu'il pronoit pour de l'ancien Persan n'étoit que du Persan moderne revêtu de caracteres anciens*⁴). Such being the case, one can understand, why the Dasturs were anxious that he may begin from the very beginning, so that he may be well-grounded and be free from any previous erroneous knowledge. In fact, he admits the justification of what the Dasturs did, when he says further on, that "that helped me to distinguish promptly the characters in which the Vendidad was written."

Apart from the question of delay, he attributes to the Dasturs some disinclination to teach him. But his very statement

2. Alleged want of inclination or good will, on the part of the Dasturs, to teach.

in the earlier part of his book contradicts him to a certain extent. (a) He had heard at Chandarnagar from M. Le Verrier, that he was assured by the Dasturs, that they would help him with books

¹ I happened to attend for the first time at Udwara, an old Parsee centre, on 20th November 1915, a Navjote Ceremony for the initiation of a child into the Parsee fold. I was astonished to find, that in this old Parsee centre, the child, my grand nephew, Master Jal Dorabji Banatwalla, was first asked to recite the alphabets in the old style seen in old Parsee books.

² Tome I., P. I., p. 38.

³ P. 40.

⁴ P. 410.

and instructions. Had they any disinclination to give books or to impart instruction, they could have said so to M. Le Verrier from the very beginning. There was nothing to prevent them from doing so.

(b) At one place, he represents the Dasturs, as being afraid to come to his place, to teach him, on the ground, that their co-religionists did not like that. At another place, he represents their side or sect, *viz.*, the Kadimis, as seeking the favour of the French against the Shahanshahis headed by Muncherjee, who were favoured by the Dutch. In order to seek such favour, it was for their interest that the Dasturs should do all they can to teach Anquetil well, because, thereby, they could secure the support of his brother who was for some time second in command, and who was later on, the Chief of the Factory.

(c) Again, the Dasturs could not pretend, that they were afraid of going to his house to instruct him. Had there been any fear of the kind, Dasturs Darab and Kaus would not have dared to publicly sue Anquetil before the authorities of the English Factory for not paying them for the manuscripts and for instruction. It would have been to their interest, to keep quiet and not run the risk of exposing themselves before the Parsee public, as persons doing work that was prohibited. There was no prohibition of the kind for which Dastur Darab is wrongly represented as pretending.

(d) It is well-known, that the Parsees of Naosari, headed by Dastur Meherjee Rana, had given instruction to King Akbar, on the subject of Zoroastrianism. Anquetil himself refers to that fact¹. This fact shows that there was no disinclination on the part of the Parsees to explain and teach their religious books to non-Parsees. So, Anquetil's statement that the Dasturs pretended dangers for going to his house, and that Dastur Darab "pretended that his death was certain if the other Dasturs knew what he was doing at my (Anquetil's) place" are unfounded exaggerations. Had there been any prohibition, Muncherjee Seth, the leader of the other sect also would have kept away from lending a manuscript to him. Again, we know from what Anquetil himself says, that long before him, the Parsees had given their manuscripts to foreigners like Fraser and Bouchier.

All these facts show that Anquetil merely aimed by these statements to boast before his countrymen, that he studied Zoroastrianism under great difficulties.

¹ I use my Paper "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron on King Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rana," read before the B. B. R. A. Society on 13th July 1903 (Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXII, No. LXIX).

One of his complaints against the Dasturs was, that they gave him a manuscript of the Vendidad which was mutilated and altered and was not correct. Those who are acquainted with Parsee manuscripts, know fully well that manuscripts differ here and there. Even though the text of the Avesta Pahlavi may be the same, there may be a difference in words and letters here and there. Anquetil himself makes Darab say so. Again, there may be a difference here and there, in the Pahlavi portion of it, consisting of the translation and commentary. Even now, as late as about 40 or 50 years ago, Parsee priests of Naosari and of Bombay differed on the subject of the recital of some particular chapter and of the repetition of certain words in certain prayers, and, on the occasion of such differences, produced old manuscripts which supported the contentions of one party or another. So, if the manuscript or manuscripts supplied by Dastur Darab and his cousin differed from that supplied by another Dastur, it does not follow, that Darab and Kaus intentionally supplied wrong or incorrect copies.

Anquetil says, that the manuscript supplied by Muncherjee was correct and that of Darab incorrect and mutilated. But, in another place¹, he himself says, that Darab had corrected a manuscript. Mr. Blochet quotes a note, made by Anquetil in his own hand, in one of his manuscripts. It says : " Manuscript of Zoroaster with Pahlavi and Pazend translation stripped by Dastur Darab of superfluous commentaries which disfigure that (*i.e.*, the manuscript) of Muncherjee²." Thus, we see from Anquetil himself, that Muncherjee's manuscripts were not always correct. There was at least one, which Darab had to correct.

Anquetil, in order to give some colour to his work, that he studied under difficulties, says, that he could not get easily manuscripts from the Dasturs. There was no difficulty, and there could possibly be none, to get manuscripts if one paid for them. At that time, when printing was not known here, there was a class of professional writers of Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian books, who could write anything if paid well. As Anquetil himself says, Fraser, before him, had purchased good manuscripts of the Yasna and of the Revayet for Rs. 500. Dastur Darab and Kaus were not the only writers. He could have got them from other priests.

That Anquetil had exaggerated in the matter of the acquisition of Other Manuscripts acquired by Anquetil. manuscripts from Dasturs Darab and Kaus. appears from the fact, that we learn from Mr. Blochet's Catalogue³ of the Iranian manuscripts in

¹ Notices, &c., Zend Avesta, Tome II, p. VII, Notice V.

² For the original in French of this quotation, *vide* above, Dastur Darab's account.

³ Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens. (1900.)

the National Library of Paris, that Anquetil had acquired manuscripts written by persons other than these two Dasturs. It appears from this catalogue, that he had acquired the following manuscripts even after his departure from Surat :—

1. A manuscript of miscellaneous Avesta writings¹, written on roz 30, mah 3, year 1130, (Thursday, 18th June 1761), by Mobad Shapur Manock Behram. The writer was a known Dastur who lived from 1735 to 1805. He was the author above referred to, who also wrote the *Kisseh-i Atash Behram-i-Naosari*². This writer seems to have written the manuscript at the express desire of Anquetil, of whom he speaks as *Sinur Musé Doparâû* (Signor Monsieur Duperron). He says, that M. Duperron had got it written for his own study. Anquetil notices this manuscript³, and while doing so, speaks of *Neryosang Dhaval*⁴ and *Hormazdyâr Ramyâr* as the Sanskrit translators of the Avesta, and says, that they lived about 300 years before his time, i.e., in the 15th century A. D.

If it was difficult for Anquetil to get manuscripts, when he was at Surat, how did he get them after his departure? This fact shows, that there was no real difficulty to get the manuscripts. There was a class of writers who wrote on payment. Had he been always ready to pay what was deemed proper by the copyists for their labour, he could have got a number of manuscripts. In M. Blochet's catalogue, we find several manuscripts of this kind.

2. The following manuscript deserves particular mention :—It is a manuscript containing miscellaneous Avesta writings. It is referred to by M. Blochet⁵ as *Supplement Persan 40*. At the end, it bears a colophon, bearing the date roz 27, mah 4, year 1130 *yczdazardi*, corresponding to 15th July 1761. The writer is the above Dastur Shapurji Manockji Sanjana. It seems, that, possibly Anquetil had given orders before his departure for some manuscripts to this writer, or, that his agent arranged to have them written from the same writer, viz., Dastur Shapurji Sanjana. The manuscript bears some colophons of older dates after some pieces which Dastur Shapur may have copied verbatim. It also bears another colophon by the same Dastur Shapur Manock Behram Sohrab Darab Sohrab, dated roz 1, mah 9. The

¹ Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdaïens (1900) by Mr. Blochet, p. 27, *Supplement, Persan 40*.

² *Titile my Book "The Parss at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherj Rana"*, p. 45.

³ *Zend Avesta*, Tome I, p. II, p. V, Notice III.

⁴ For Neryosang's date see my "Glance into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S.," pp. 45-96 and my *Iranian Essays* (Gujarati) Part III, pp. 107-2.

⁵ Catalogue, pp. 34, 36.

year 1071 Yazdizudi given by M. Blochet, seems to be some mistake, because that year would give 1702 A.D. is the date at which the Dastur was not even born. M. Blochet¹ gives the equivalent of the date as 16th November 1761. That seems to be correct as Dastur Shapur flourished at the time. Therefore the Yazdizudi year seems to be a mistake.

Anquetil complains of the Dasturs remaining absent for a long time.

At times they remained absent owing to what
 3. The accusation of long absence on the Dasturs. Anquetil himself calls a state of civil war in the city. If they remained long absent on other occasions that may be partly due to their sacerdotal duties.

I put the real cause for my supply of manuscripts and for the absence from daily visits for instruction if these be at all true may be that Anquetil had no money to pay the Dasturs. He had run into debt and had to live upon the most simple diet of Khichri. Soon after the above wrongful complaint he himself says: 'I must see myself out of the plight to return what I had borrowed from Gori to make the voyage to Surat. It was necessary to reduce myself to Khichri in order that I may save from my salary to pay part of my debt to buy the books which I wanted and with all that to study.' Here lies the truth. He had no money to buy books and to pay for instruction. If it was anything which may have kept the Dasturs away from supplying books and giving instruction it was his inability to pay. The cost of books in those times was much more than that of receiving tuition. Thus we see that the true cause of their long absence may be no disinclination to teach but his non-payment. He himself says this a little later when he writes: 'Seeing me short of money they rendered themselves scarce. (D'ailleurs me voyant peu de fonds ils se rendoient rares - à peine pouvoient ils une fois en quinze jours.)' The Dasturs would not I think have minded giving tuition in spite of Anquetil's non-payment but, if all that he says is true perhaps his roughness of manners towards them may also have alienated their feelings. It seems that at least at first there was no hesitation on the part of the Dasturs to instruct him. As said by one of Anquetil's own countrymen the writer of his life in Pierre Leroussé's 'Grand Dictionnaire Universelle du XIX^e siècle' he had from the very first gained the confidence of the Dasturs who taught him well. The writer very properly says: 'Il gagna la confiance des dasturs ou prêtres, se fit initier

a la connaissance de leurs livres saints et des anciens idiomes de leur race, et rapporta en France ses précieux manuscrits (1762). His own writings, on the whole bring us to the conclusion that the Dasturs behaved well with him, but that his poverty and his bad temper may have led to some dispute for non-payment of what was due to them, and that his fondness to exaggerate matters and to give to his work an air of importance and risk led him to do great injustice to the name and fame of the Dasturs

V.

III.—ANQUETIL'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO A FIRE-TEMPLE.

I will treat this subject, under two heads

(A) A running account of the visit is given by him

(B) An examination of the account to see how far it is true

(A) ANQUETIL'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO A FIRE-TEMPLE.

Anquetil thus describes his visit to a Parsee Fire-temple at Surat

The reading of the Liturgical books had taught me the smallest ceremonies of their religion. I had purchased the copper utensils which are used in the religious services of the Parsees: some *Austis* (sacred threads) a *Sadrah* (sacred shirt) *penon* (putidān or pidān, a kind of covering for the mouth) but my curiosity was not satisfied. I wished to enter into the temple of the Parsees and to attend at some part of their liturgy. Knowing what the severity of the law was I thought the thing was impossible. According to the Zend books, my presence must desecrate the temple and deprive their prayers of all their efficacy. So if one excepts (2c) with the exception of) Shah Akbar who, far from honouring the sacred fire by some offering, had desecrated it with his saliva no stranger had ever entered into the Dar-i Meher's (temples) of the Parsees. However, a small present and the hope of promenading in the city in my palanquin induced Darab to satisfy my curiosity. He took for that a rainy day (20th June 1760). I was dressed like a Parsee, and was accompanied by only one peon, who was to keep himself at a certain distance from the gate of the Dar-i Meher, and who was to guide me from a sufficient distance, lest I may be found out, the neighbourhood of the temple being inhabited by a large number of Parsees. In some places, I had (to pass through) water up to the knees. The time was dark, and, as I was not well familiar with the roads of Surat, I thought several times that I had lost my way and was on the point of being drowned.

"When I arrived, there were a few people at the Dar-i Meher. Darab came to receive me and took me to the fire-chapel, where his son was officiating. It was half-past six in the evening in the Aiwisruthrem gah.

"Old Darab, in spite of the objection which I had several times made against what I found to be unreasonable in his religion, had seen me studying his books with so much care, and occupying myself so seriously in the smallest minute instead of slighting them as is ordinarily the case with strangers, that he took me to be well-nigh a proselyte, for whom nothing was wanted but the ceremonies of initiation, and I think that this idea soiced his conscience a little. Several times, he had tried to make me give up my *Hooka*, representing to me, that I had read in the Parsee books, that what came out of the body - the saliva, breath—contaminated the Fire. Instead of contradicting him severely, which would have disgusted him, I contented myself by replying, that 'I was a Christian'. When I was in the presence of the Fire, which I looked at with ordinary Parsees (i.e., laymen) from the gratings which closed the chapel from the north side, Darab demanded, if I would not make to it some small offering. I told him. 'Being a Christian I cannot do what you ask me to do.' Darab added, but with an embarrassed air mixed with something sinister, that some Musalmans have without having had the privilege of seeing the Fire, made some presents to the Dar-i Meher. The position was delicate; I was alone without any arm except my sabre and a pocket pistol, and if the devotees, who were saying their prayers in the Dar-i Meher, had suspected me for what I was (i.e., for a foreigner), I would have in a moment been sacrificed to their devotion for the house of the Fire (i.e., the Fire-temple). Without appearing to have been moved, I replied to Darab, raising my voice (i.e., in a loud voice), that 'I had come to see the Dar-i Meher and nothing more'. My firmness shut up his mouth. He requested me to speak in a lower tone. He was afraid more than myself, lest some one may recognise me. He afterwards explained to me in a lower voice the use of the different parts of the Dar-i Meher. I examined everything; I entered everywhere; and I impressed very clearly on my mind all that I saw in order to be able on my return to prepare the plan and the description, which one would see hereafter in the second volume, pp. 568-572.

"After having attentively examined the arrangement of the Dar-i Meher, without appearing to have any view other than that of satisfying curiosity, I went near the place set apart for the recitation of the Yazashna. Darab made some hesitation to allow me to enter there, protesting, that he would afterwards be obliged to purify it; but I went in, taking no notice of that, and I found in a corner of the

Izashna khâneh, his Zend, Pahlavi and Persian books, and among others, the manuscripts which he had assured me he had not. I knew, that his library was in the Dar-i Meher, and this was one of the reasons which had induced me to seek the means of entering into the temple.

"Satisfied with my visit which lasted for nearly one hour, I rejoined my pson who was waiting for me within the hearing of a gun-shot from the Dar-i Meher. Dastur, having failed in his expectation, had no reason to be so satisfied. He had counted upon squeezing something out of me as an offering for the fire, and the discovery (of his manuscripts), which I had made, compelled him, if he did not wish to break off with me, to either sell me, or copy for me, the book, to do which he had upto then refused."

Anquetil's description of the Dar-i Meher.

I will give here the first part of his general description of the Fire-temple itself, as given in his second volume.¹

"The Parsees have several Dar-i Mehers out of Surat, one is at Nampour, one at Sued pour, one at Big Pindit (*i.e.*, the garden of the Punchâyet). But these Dar-i Mehers have not a chapel of Fire. They are small Dad-gâhs, where they simply recite the Izashna. That, which I am going to describe, is the only one which the Parsees have in Surat. It has been built about 30 or 40 years ago and belongs to Dastur Darab and his family. It is a building of wood, plaster and earth, of which the exterior form is not different from that of other buildings of Surat. Here follows about five pages giving a detailed description of the Fire-temple.

VI.

(B) AN EXAMINATION OF ANQUETIL'S ACCOUNT OF THE VISIT TO THE FIRE-TEMPLE.

We will now see how far the allegation of Anquetil against Dastur Darab, that, on bribing him and with his secret help, he saw the sacred fire of the Parsees, under the disguise of a Parsee, is true. If all that he says is true, Dastur Darab, who as we saw above was a learned and respected high priest of Surat, and of whom Anquetil himself speaks as one who was sincere, stands condemned for having made a breach of faith or a breach of trust to his community.

But before examining the allegation we will notice how some learned writers have, without looking critically into Anquetil's statements, done great injustice to the memory of Dastur Darab. He is unjustly con-

Injustice done to Dastur Darab.

¹ Tome II pp. 568-70.

² *i.e.*, in the city itself and not in the suburbs like those mentioned above.

denied by some. Nobody has taken the trouble of critically examining the statements of Anquetil which in some places, are contradictory, and which, after a little patient examination, appear to be untrue.

Distur Daurth was condemned by the late Mr Sorabjee Shapoorji Bengali in his *Journal* of August 1855, on the strength of Anquetil's statement alone. Mr Bengali says that he had heard the story, but had not believed it, but began to believe it after reading the account of Anquetil. This shows, that it was merely Anquetil's statement that made Mr Sorabjee Bengali condemn the learned Distur. He did not try to examine it critically with the help of Anquetil's other statements. A reader or readers of Anquetil's account may have told the people of Surat about it and then it may have spread as a myth.

The story, as far as we have an amusing instance of how a myth has been exaggerated, grew from mouth to mouth in Briggs's account by Briggs. The *Parses*, published in 1852. He says: "The Parsis still remember from tradition that, the circumstance of M. Anquetil du Perron and his companions being at Surat. They are the only Europeans known and acknowledged to have entered into their temples. The legend for such it now is current among them is that two Mubeds from Persia resided among them for some years. They wore the attire and in every other way conformed to the usages of Zerdustians; they were perfectly familiar with their religious rites and liturgical services. Only upon Perron's return to Europe, the Parsis became aware of these foreigners having duped them."

We see in this version that while in Anquetil's first fabrication of the story it was the case of only one European viz., himself, the story coming to India from Europe, grew so as to include two Europeans. Again instead of one temple in the singular, it began to speak of 'temples' in the plural. Thirdly, the party who surreptitiously entered into the temple, instead of being dressed as a Parsee Hyman, was dressed as Mubeds or priests from Persia.

Indic Collection of Writings "સુદો ગાહાલો લખાણી" (૧૪) V. II pp. 121-43

Ibid p. 129. "આત્રય એ- હઉદોપીઅન ૨૨૧ મધે પારસીની ફરેમહરમા હાઈથી ફરી આવીઆ હુનો ફેરી બીના હુમેએ સાલલી હની અને એ વાન પારસીના ફેટલાક મોદોદોને હાલ બાઈતી ફે નેપણ તે ઉપર અમા બડમા રાખનાતા નહી પણ દેશેએ બણાવેલી આ વીગનવાર હકીકત વાચાઆધા તેહની ચોરસાઈથા આપણી ખાનશે થાયછે."

² The *Parses* or modern Zerdustians. A sketch by H. C. Briggs (1852) pp. 42-43. Briggs's version seems to have been mixed up with the story of Kāus and Afshid (Kāusah Kāus va Afshid) which is a held to be a purely imaginary.

As another instance of careless beliefs of such stories, even on the part of persons from whom rather a critical examination than a blind acceptance is expected, Dr. Haug's statement. we may refer to the statement of a learned orientalist like Dr. Haug. He says: "The Parsee priests, being full of distrust towards him, were not willing to sell him valuable manuscripts, and far less to teach him the language of their sacred book. Finally, the only means of obtaining the object wished for was money. He bribed one of the most learned Dasturs, Dastur Darab, at Surat, to procure him manuscripts, and to instruct him in the Avesta and Pahlavi languages." ¹ Here, we see that the bribe is transferred from the visit to the temple to the purchase of manuscripts and the instruction of languages. One can well wonder, how the price of manuscripts and fees for tuition can be called a bribe.

As to the visit to the temple, Dr. Haug says: "The only Parsee priest in Surat who knew anything of Anquetil du Perron was Dastur Kai-khusru Darab, who recollected hearing, that Dastur Darab had taught Anquetil the Avesta, and shown him the sacred fire, when disguised as a Parsi." ² This was in 1863. This shows, that the myth, which Briggs referred to in 1852, was dead in its entirety within 11 years.

The very fact that Dr. Haug found only one Parsee priest at Surat, who had heard of the story of Anquetil's visit, shows that it was not commonly known or believed then. Possibly, it may have gone to the ears of Dastur Kai-khusru of Surat (1863) from Bombay, where it came to be announced in the above referred to Jagat-premi (1853) and then through Westergaard's work (1854). Had it been a local tradition, it would have been more commonly known and even condemned in gurbâs (ballads) or songs, as was the custom at the time.

Mademoiselle Ménant says ³, that she happened to see in Bombay, in the spring of 1901, the late Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jamasp, who had accompanied Dr. Haug to Guzerat and asked his view on the subject of Haug's assertion ⁴ (au sujet de l'assertion de Haug), "but the learned Dastur replied evasively and hastened to turn the conversation." This shows, that the learned Dastur, perhaps, took it, that Dr. Haug

¹ Haug's Essays, 2nd edition, pp 17-18

² *Ibid.*, p 45, n 2.

³ "Anquetil Duperron à Surate" (1901), p. 50

⁴ Dr Haug's assertion referred to by her runs thus: "The same Dastur (Dastur Kai-khusru Darab, who is already an old man of about seventy years, was the only Parsi priest at Surat who knew any thing of the Frenchman, Anquetil du Perron, who had been staying at that city for the purpose of studying Zend, a little more than a hundred years ago (1758-61). On my questioning him whether he had heard from his father or grandfather,

had not properly understood or rather misunderstood Dastur KaiKhusro, and so, did not like to contradict his friend and collaborator. However, it is a fact, that Dastur Hoshang himself did not believe as true Anquetil's version of his visit to the temple. Mr. Erachshaw Bomanji Dastur Koomana, who had frequent opportunities to see Dastur Hoshang at Poona, when he was there in the Kadmi fire-temple as a priest from 1897 to 1900, informs me in his letter, dated 8th February 1916, that Dastur Hoshang often said that Anquetil's story was not true (નહોતો).

The facts seem to be these : It is true that Anquetil saw, from within, a Parsee Fire-temple and that his learned teacher Dastur Darab showed it to him, acting as his guide. But all the other statements of Anquetil are untrue. (a) It is *not* true that he saw the sacred consecrated fire in the temple. (b) It is *not* true that he saw the temple disguised as a Parsee. (c) It is *not* true that Dastur Darab showed it to him secretly, or concealing the fact from others, and that he did so in return of what Anquetil himself calls a small present (*un petit present*) and for the vulgar desire of having in return an opportunity to go about the city of Surat in Anquetil's palanquin. Anquetil seems to have exaggerated the mere fact of having seen a Fire-temple, in order to give to his visit the importance, before his countrymen in France, of a great adventure, undertaken at the risk to his life at the hand of the Parsees. It is a weakness, common to some travellers, to exaggerate some petty acts or feats into great adventurous deeds, in order to extol the importance of their travels. We know of some well-known cases of that kind that have occurred within the last two decades, wherein voyagers to the North-pole and travellers to Tibet have rested more upon their imaginations than upon facts, in order to draw more public esteem towards their adventures, than they actually deserved. We will see how far Anquetil had yielded to the weakness.

Before examining Anquetil's statements about his visit to the temple itself, let us note here an instance of his gross misrepresentation of facts or of his gross exaggeration. While speaking of his way to the Fire-temple on a rainy day (the 20th of June) he says : "In some places I had water up to the knees. The time was dark, and, as I was not familiar with the roads of Surat, I thought

anything about an European who had come to this country about a hundred years ago, he replied : 'O yes, he is still remembered ; Dastur Darab taught him Zend, and showed him in the disguise of a Parsi, the Sacred Fire,' a fact recorded by Anquetil himself in his *Voyages aux Indes Orientales* (Account of a Tour in Gujarat, by Martin Haug, Ph. D., undertaken in the cold season of 1863-64).

several times, that I had lost my way and was on the point of being drowned." He further on says, that, when he arrived at the temple "it was half-past six in the evening." If it was half-past six when he arrived at the temple itself, it must be a little earlier when he was in the streets. But for argument's sake, let us take, that it was also half-past six when he was in the streets. Now, on 20th June, the sun sets at 6-40 p.m., local time. So, it passes belief, that, however cloudy and rainy it may be at 6-30, i.e., about 10 minutes before the sun-set, it was so dark, that he could not see his way and was on the point of being drowned. It seems to be gross exaggeration to say so.

Again, he says, that he stayed at the Fire-temple for one hour, and patiently examined everything. If so, did he stay there in his Parsee dress wet up to the waist? If so, did not his condition surprise the other worshippers? A Parsee, all wet, who had just escaped being drowned, inquisitively questioning Darab on all religious points and examining everything, must draw the attention of many. He would raise curiosity which may lead to many questions to Darab which could reveal his identity. These considerations clearly show, that his statement about being on the point of being drowned was mere exaggeration and boast.

As another instance of his gross exaggeration or misrepresentation of facts, take his statement about an alleged visit of King Akbar to a Parsee Fire-temple and his desecrating the sacred fire. To give some importance to his visit to the Fire-temple he says: "If one excepts Shah Akbar, who, far from honouring the sacred fire by some offerings, had desecrated it with his saliva, no stranger had ever entered into the Dar-i-Mcher of the Parsees."

Both the above statements of Anquetil are incorrect. We know from no history of Akbar, that he ever entered into a Fire-temple. As to his desecration of fire, we have, on the contrary, the authority of his historians, that he held fire in esteem. His new religion had several elements of Zoroastrianism, and reverence for fire was one of such elements. Prof. Blochmann speaks of Akbar's religion, as "Monotheistic Parsi-Hinduism".¹ Again, he says, that "he was a Parsee by rites".² Comte de Noer calls it a sort of Parsee-Soufi-Hinduism.³ The

¹ Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. I, p. 412.

² *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. XXXVII, Part I No 1 (1868) Contributions to Persian Lexicography.

³ *L'Immortal Akbar*, par le Comte de Noer traduit de l'Allemand par G. Bonet Maury, Vol. I., p. 346.

Encyclopædia Britannica says, that "he adopted the creed of deism and a ritual based upon the system of Zoroaster." Capt. Vans Kennedy says: "He adopted as intermediate objects of respect the sun and planets and as their representative the sacred fire The only ceremonies which were adopted were the principal annual festivals of the Zaradustian."¹ Prof. Rehatsek says "He (Akbar) revived the ancient Zoroastrian festivals, substituted their months for those of the Hejira and *also maintained sacred fires.*"

Thus all these scholars say that Akbar was influenced by Zoroastrianism. One then cannot expect from such a person the offensive conduct towards Parseeism attributed to him by Anquetil. But turn for a while from all these foreign writers upon the religion of Akbar to the Mahomedan historians themselves who write about Akbar. Akbar's Minister Abul Fazl, defending his king and his ways of adoration says: "But why should I speak of the mysterious blessings of the sun, or of the transfer of his greater light to lamps? Should I not rather dwell on the perverseness of those weak-minded zealots, who, with much concern, talk of His Majesty's Religion as of a deification of the sun and the introduction of Fire-worship? But I shall dismiss them with a smile."² Badaoni in his Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh says: "He (Akbar) ordered Abul Fazl to make arrangements, that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings, in whose Fire-temples it had been continually burning; for fire was one of the manifestations of God 'a ray of his rays' From the New Year's Day of the twenty-fifth year of his reign (988), His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations, and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace."³ Abul Fazl says in his Ain-i- Akbari: "His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light."⁴

Again, the Dabistan also supports the above Mahomedan writers. It says: "He (Akbar) delivered the sacred fire with care to the wise Shaikh Abu'l-Fazil, and established that it should be preserved in the interior apartment by night and day, perpetual henceforth, according

¹ Vol. I, p. 474

² Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II., pp. 277-78. Reprint of 1876.

³ The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Islam, consisting of passages from the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badaoni, translated by E. Rehatsek (1866). Translator's Preface, p. II.

⁴ Ain-i-Akbari by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 155, 72nd ain.

⁵ Translation by Blochmann, in "The Ain-i-Akbari," translated by him, Vol. I., p. 184.

⁶ The Ain-in-Akbari translated by Blochmann. Vol. I., p. 43, 18th ain.

to the rule of the Mobeds, and to the manner which was always practised in the Fire-temples of the Kings of Ajem."⁽¹⁾

Thus, both, Badaoni and Abul Fazl, the two famous historians of Akbar's reign and his very contemporaries speak of the reverence and esteem in which Akbar held fire. It is of such a person, that Anquetil says without any authority, that he desecrated the sacred fire of the Parsees. To represent his visit to a Fire-temple as an extraordinary and dangerous adventure, he attributes to Akbar, what was altogether contrary to the great King's belief.

Mr. Beveridge² supposes, that Anquetil perhaps referred to "Akbar's having smoked the *hugqa*." But, Anquetil speaks of the fire as *sacred* fire. Even, if it were a reference to the *hugqa*, as pointed out by Mr. Beveridge, if Mahomedan chroniclers are to be believed, Akbar never took to smoking.³

However, one may not attach much importance to this statement of Anquetil, as it is not very important, as far as the main question of Anquetil's visit to the temple, disguised as a Parsee, is concerned.

VII.

EXAMINATION OF EVIDENCE, PROVING THE INCORRECTNESS OF ANQUETIL'S STATEMENTS.

We will now examine Anquetil's statements about his seeing the sacred fire with Dastur Darab's clandestine consent and guidance. Let me say in the beginning, that some one or another of my pleas, doubting the veracity of Anquetil, may appear weak or unsubstantial to some one or another of my hearers or readers. But I most earnestly request them to suspend their judgment till they read all the pleas, and are thus, in a position to form a collective opinion. I believe, that when they will weigh all the pleas together they will come to the conclusion, that Anquetil has overstated or misstated his case. I pray to be excused for a repetition of some thoughts, here and there as it is unavoidable, in advancing different pleas.

I divide this branch of our subject under two heads :

1. Inside evidence, *i.e.*, evidence based on Anquetil's own statements.
2. Outside evidence, *i.e.*, evidence based on considerations other than those of Anquetil's statements about the visit to the temple.

The Dabistan, translated by Shea and Trevor, Vol. III, pp. 95-96.

² Calcutta Review, Vol. CIII, No. CCVI, October 1896, p. 296.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

INSIDE EVIDENCE.

We will first examine the inside evidence based upon Anquetil's own statements, and, in this examination, we will follow his statements in the order in which he has made them.

Anquetil says : " A small present and the hope of promenading in the city in my palanquin induced Darab to satisfy my curiosity." This is a gross libel upon an obliging teacher by an ungrateful pupil. It comes to mean, that Dastur Darab, who, in the words of Dr. Haug¹ was "one of the most learned Dasturs at Surat," accepted a bribe from Anquetil to show him secretly the sacred fire of a Parsee Fire temple.

(a) It is quite impossible to believe, that a Dastur of the learning and position of Dastur Darab should prove a traitor to his community. What is the bribe that Anquetil offers? A small present (un petit present). Anquetil himself, more than once, says, that Dastur Darab was afraid of his people and hesitated to teach him the sacred languages and scriptures. How can one believe, that a learned and respectable Dastur, who was afraid of teaching him Zoroastrian scriptures against the wishes of his people, could consent to show him clandestinely under the disguise of a Parsee his sacred fire, and that for a mere small present and a palanquin ride. Anquetil, more than once, represents Darab to be an ambitious person asking from him high prices for his books. How can such an ambitious person, who wanted a heavy price for books, which, if he ever asked it, was an ordinary justifiable act, consent to show him the sacred fire of his community, whose anger and fury he ran the risk of incurring? One would naturally expect, that an ambitious person, as he is represented to be, should try to squeeze a large sum of money, instead of a small present, for doing a thing which was against the recognized custom of his people.

(b) Anquetil says, that another inducement for Dastur Darab to do a risky and wrongful act was the curiosity of a palanquin ride in the city of Surat. A statement like this could be possibly accepted as true by French and other European readers of his time for whom it was intended, but cannot be accepted here in India, by people, who know something about those times. Palanquins are not seen in our streets now, but, up to a few years ago, they were common both here and at Surat. They were to be then had on hire, just as we have victorias and taxi-cabs now. I remember having several times come to the Fort from Colaba, in my boyhood in a palanquin for six or eight

¹ "Essays on the Parsees," second edition, p. 17.

annas. Those were the days of palanquins. So, riding in a palanquin was no attraction for a learned Dastur to commit a breach of faith towards his community. If Darab had wished, he could have got for mere asking, the palanquins of many a rich Parsee. At that time, there were at Surat rich Parsees some of whom were the brokers and shroffs of the several European factories. These rich Parsees could have lent to Darab far better and handsomer palanquins than that of Anquetil, who, as he himself says, was, for want of funds, living in a poor well-nigh beggarly way and maintaining himself at times on mere *khichree*.

(c) Again, there is one important thing which we must bear in mind in this connection. The Fire-temple, whose sacred fire Darab is said to have allowed to be clandestinely desecrated, was his own temple. It was built and maintained by himself as said by Anquetil. So, how can we think that a religious-minded Dastur, of whom Anquetil himself speaks as a 'sincere' person, a Dastur of position and learning, could allow to be desecrated a temple built and maintained by himself?

(d) There is another thing to be borne in mind. At that time, the Parsee community was, as we saw above, divided into two sects, the Shahānshāhis and the Kadimis. There was active hostility between them. Darab was the High Priest of the new Kadimi sect. The hostility towards him personally on that account had risen to such a height, that, as said by Anquetil himself, he had at one time to go away to the Portuguese town of Damão for protection. It is not possible to believe, that, under such circumstances, in the teeth of active hostility, Darab could dare to commit a sacrilegious act for petty bribes of "a small present" and a palanquin ride.

Anquetil says: "I was dressed like a Parsee and was accompanied by only one peon who was to keep himself at a certain distance from the gate of the Dar-i-Meher and

2. Anquetil's
peon as a guide.

who was to guide me from a sufficient distance, lest I may be found out." Then, a little further on, he says: "In some places, I had water upto the knees. The time was dark and as I was not familiar with the roads of Surat, I thought several times that I had lost my way and was on the point of being drowned."

(a) One cannot understand, what Anquetil means by these two statements which seem to be contradictory. If he had a peon to guide him, how can there be a chance of losing his way and be drowned in the water of the downpour of rain? This seems to have been invented by Anquetil to give to his visit to the Fire-temple an air of risk in the eyes of his countrymen.

Perhaps, one may say : " the peon, perhaps, did not know the Parsee streets sufficiently well to save Anquetil from losing his way and being drowned." If so, how did he guide Anquetil to the Fire-temple ?

(b) Again, the visit was a clandestine visit, and Anquetil went disguised as a Parsee. If so, it was certain, that his peon knew of the visit. If he knew of it, the secret was likely to be divulged by a person like a peon, if not during Anquetil's stay at Surat, at least after his departure from India. But there was no disclosure.

(c) Again we learn a little later on from Anquetil's account of his journey towards the caves of Elephanta, that he had in his service a Parsee servant named Hirjee. So, if he went disguised as a Parsee, how did he escape the attention of that man ? Or, why did he not take him into his confidence ? If he succeeded, as said by him, in bribing a learned and respectable Dastur, he could have easily succeeded in bribing an illiterate Parsee servant, and would thus have been saved the inconvenience of taking with him a peon, whom he had to keep at a distance from him. The Parsee domestic could have walked with him, even into the fire-temple, without drawing the attention of any Parsee towards Anquetil.

(d) But one may say, that, in order to avoid the risk of the secret being disclosed by the Parsee domestic, who, as a Parsee, was more likely to divulge the secret, he took the peon into his confidence. But, as he had gone to the Fire-temple in the disguise of a Parsee, why was there at all the necessity of taking a peon with him ? He could have very easily arranged with Darab and could have boldly walked with him to the temple without drawing any Parsee's notice. Thus, he could have also avoided taking the peon or any other person into his confidence. The peon was keeping himself at some distance from him. So, how could he point out to Anquetil the particular building as the Fire-temple, without both meeting together at some spots or without the peon pointing him out the place from the distance. All that involved the chance of being marked out by some Parsees. All that could have been avoided by his going to the temple with Darab himself. So, all these considerations show, that his statement of going to the Parsee Fire-temple clandestinely in a Parsee dress is not at all correct. He went openly, dressed in his usual European dress, and accompanied by a peon, as it was the practice at that time with Europeans to do, and was openly received by Dastur Darab and shown the temple from which the consecrated sacred fire was removed for the occasion.

Anquetil says : " When I arrived, there were a few people at the Dar-i-Meher. Darab came to receive me and took

3. Darab's welcome to Anquetil. me to the fire chapel where his son was officiating." This statement of Anquetil is correct and it contradicts his above statement that he went clandestinely disguised as a Parsee.

(a) Anquetil says, that, when he went to the temple, there were some devotees who were saying their prayers there. These Parsees, seeing Darab going to the gate to welcome a Parsee, would have naturally inquired, why he should have done so. It is not the custom for the Dastur of a temple to go to the gate and welcome Parsee worshippers. Perhaps, one may say, that in the case of a distinguished Parsee worshipper who may go by appointment to a temple, the head priest in charge, at times, does, out of courtesy, go to the gate to welcome him. But, here, it was not so. Anquetil went clandestinely. So, Darab's going to the gate to welcome him would naturally draw the attention of the other worshippers and lead to inquiries and to the divulgence of the secret instead of keeping it. All these considerations show, that Anquetil went by appointment, as a foreign visitor, in his European dress, accompanied by his peon as usual, and the obliging teacher welcomed his pupil and showed him the temple from which the sacred fire was removed for the time being, and explained to him all the arrangements.

(b) Again there is one important thing which Parsees alone can understand and not Europeans. Anquetil says : " Darab came to receive him and took him to the fire chapel." No Parsee worshipper—and Anquetil is represented as going as a Parsee—would do that. He has, at first, to perform his Kusti-Padyâh, i.e., to perform his ablutions by washing his face and hands and then to untie and re-tie his Kusti or sacred thread. For this purpose, all temples are provided with water utensils which generally are at the gate. Anquetil says, that he was straight off taken to the fire-chapel. If he went there as a Parsee, as he pretends to have done, this act would have at once drawn the attention of the other Parsees at the temple ; they could not expect such a thing to be tolerated by a learned priest like Dastur Darab.

(c) Again, if Anquetil went disguised as a Parsee, we may take it, that the few other Parsees, who, as Anquetil himself says, were present there, must have taken him to be either a distinguished Parsee of Surat or a distinguished Parsee visitor from some other Parsee town. If the former, they would enquire, why was there the necessity of Darab taking him to the fire-chapel ? A Parsee residing at Surat

must know the place of the fire-chapel in the temple. If a foreigner they may have supposed, that he required to be shown the chamber where the sacred fire was burning. But then, in that case, the attendance of a distinguished Parsee visitor from some other town should have naturally caused some curiosity or talk, both among the other visitors within the precincts of the temple and others outside. But we are told of nothing of the kind. So, all these considerations, connected with Anquetil's statement about Darab welcoming him, point to the fact, that Anquetil went as a distinguished European visitor and dressed as an European, as some inquisitive Europeans do even now when an opportunity occurs.

Anquetil says about the time of his visit : " It was half-past six in the evening in the Aiwi-ruthrem Gah." He also says, that " his (Darab's) son was officiating " at the fire-chapel. The date was, as he gives it, 20th June. Now we know, that on the 22nd of June we have the longest day. So, the sun would set at Surat on the 20th at about 6-40 p.m. local time. The ceremonial period of the day referred to by Anquetil as Aiwi-ruthrem Gah, must, on the 20th June, begin at Surat at some time about or after seven, at least not before 6-40 p.m. even if it were a cloudy and rainy day. But, one may say, that perhaps the day of Anquetil's visit — 20th June 1760—was an unusually cloudy and rainy day, and so, the Aiwi-ruthrem Gah, with which the night is said to begin, may be taken to have set in early. So, perhaps, the exact time, when the Gah was supposed to have begun, may be held as presenting not a very important question. I am not inclined to press that point much.

But there is another thing which must be borne in mind. Anquetil says that Darab's son was officiating at the time in the fire-chapel. A Parsee and even a foreigner who has studied Parseeism knows, that this service in the Aiwi-ruthrem Gah in the fire-chamber is that known as Bui-devi (P. Bui-dādan, lit. to give perfumes), i.e., the service of feeding the sacred fire. This service is preceded by the recital of several prayers, viz., Kusti pādayāb prayer, saros bāj, Aiwi-ruthrem gah, and Sarosh Yasht Vadi. The recital of these would take about 20 to 25 minutes. It is only after their recital, that the service of feeding the fire in the fire-chamber takes place. So, if Anquetil saw Darab's son performing the ceremony at 6-30, we must take it that the Aiwi-ruthrem Gah commenced at about 6 p.m., i.e., more than one hour before the regular time of the day. It is not possible to believe so, even taking it, that it was a cloudy day. At about 6 p.m. on the 20th of June, the sun is much above the horizon.

So, under all the circumstances, the facts seem to be these : Anquetil went to the temple as an inquisitive student in his usual European dress, accompanied as usual by his peon, and Darab welcomed him as his pupil and as a distinguished student, and straight off took him to the fire-chamber where he had arranged that his son, should perform the Bui-dâdan service—not the real service before the consecrated fire, but a mock service which can be performed at any part of the day to explain matters to Anquetil. Things of that kind are done, even now, in Bombay and elsewhere, by present Dasturs, to explain some religious ritual, &c., to European and American students of Zoroastrianism.

Anquetil's own notes throw great doubts upon the veracity of his statements. In the end of 1914, I had written to

Anquetil's own notes throw a doubt upon his statement. Mademoiselle Menant of Paris, to kindly examine the papers of Anquetil which are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale and see, if there was any writing in Anquetil's hand like a diary, wherein he

had taken notes of his alleged visit in the dress of a Parsee. She found no notes about his disguise as a Parsee. We will speak of this later on. But we will note one fact here, that in one place ~~see~~ the following note: " Le 20 juin J'allai.....à 8 hr. du soir au ~~derrière~~ du feu Aderan des Parsis.....¹ i.e., " 20th June. I went.....at 8 o'clock in the evening to Dar-i-Meher of the Aderan fire of the Parsees."

Thus, we see, that, while in his book written about 10 years after his visit to Surat, he gives 6-30 p.m. as the time of his visit to the Fire-temple, the real time, as given in his own notes taken at that time in Surat itself, was 8 p.m. This fact makes us doubt the statements of Anquetil as made in his book, 10 years after the visit. It clearly shows, that he has taken great liberty with real facts.

Anquetil says : " He (Darab) took me to be well-nigh a proselyte, for whom nothing was wanted, but the ceremonies of initiation ; and I think that this idea

5. Anquetil's contradictory statements about the aims of Dastur Darab in showing him the Fire-temple.

solaced his conscience a little." At another place, he says : " When he saw that I wrote down all that he said, turned to him again and again for (the purpose of learning) all the sense and that I had heard all that he said with precaution, he was seized

with a fear, because he thought that I was going to learn all the dogmas of his religion. (So) I did not see him for more than a month. He pretended that his death was certain if other Dasturs knew what he was doing with me. Kaus² argued that I was asking (to learn)

¹ Miss Menant's letter of 21st January 1915.

² Kaus, who was a cousin of Darab, also occasionally went with him to teach Anquetil.

from him several things which their conscience did not permit them to say."¹

(a) These two statements seem to be a little self-contradictory. Dastur Darab thought it to be against his conscience to teach all Zoroastrian dogmas, how can he show him his sacred Fire-temple, consoling himself that he was a likely proselyte? If Darab thought that it was against his conscience to teach Anquetil all the dogmas of his religion, how can he reconcile his conscience to 'st him the sacred fire and thus do a great sacrilegious act for a bribe?

(b) If, on the other hand, Darab showed him the temple consoling himself with the idea, that Anquetil was a likely proselyte, why did he object to his learning all the dogmas of his religion? If the act of proselytism was not wrong, how can the act of teaching a scriptural languages, the knowledge of which prepared the proselyte, be wrong? He would have openly said to his co-religionists: "Here is a person who would likely proselytise. So, I teach him our religion."

(c) Again, if Darab pretended that his death was certain if the other Dasturs came to know of his alleged wrongful act of teaching religion to a foreigner, why did he not so pretend in the case of the more sacrilegious act of showing the sacred fire to a foreigner?

(d) Again, Anquetil, in his account of the visit to the Fire-temple, says: "Several times he had tried to make me give up my *hooka*, representing to me, that I had read in the Parsee books, that what came out of the body—the saliva, breath—contaminated the fire. Instead of contradicting him severely what would have disgusted him, I contented myself by replying, that 'I was a Christian.'" Now, if Darab saw, that Anquetil continued to smoke, in spite of his drawing his attention to the fact that it was opposed to Zoroastrianism, how could he possibly accept him to be a likely proselyte and thus console his conscience to show him the sacred fire.

(e) If it was a fact, that Darab took Anquetil to be a likely proselyte and therefore consoled his conscience and showed him the sacred fire, why did he sell his conscience in return of "a small present" and of a vulgar curiosity to have a ride in Anquetil's palanquin?

(f) If Dastur Darab remonstrated often with Anquetil for smoking the *hooka* on the ground of its defiling fire, how can it be expected from him that he should be party to desecrate the consecrated fire of his own Fire-temple?

Thus we see that Anquetil's own various statements and their various considerations contradict themselves and lead to show the impracticability of his misrepresentation, that he saw the Fire-temple clandestinely, disguised as a Parsee.

Anquetil says : " Darab demanded, if I would not make it (*i.e.*, to the sacred fire) some small offering. I told him:

6. Darab's demand for an offering for the fire. ' Being a Christian I cannot do what you ask me to do'. Darab added, but with an embarrassed air mixed with something sinister, that some Musalmans have, without having had the privilege of seeing the fire, made some presents to the Dar-i-Meher. The position was delicate. I was alone without any arm except my sabre and a pocket pistol, &c."

(a) Anquetil's visit was clandestine. If Darab's co-religionists who were present at the temple knew of it, Darab was in danger. How then, can one expect, that he would be so indifferent, and ask for a small offering to the fire, and when once refused, argue with Anquetil? If he did so, he was in greater risk than Anquetil of being exposed before his people there. The temples of those times, a like of which one can see in some old Parsee villages of Surat even now, were small buildings wherein, one can see and overhear what passes in any part of it.

(b) Then look to the amount of offering. The sum that a Parsee worshipper generally offers to the temple-priest even now, when the times are comparatively rich, varies from a pice to a rupee the most. It is very very rare when one gives more than a rupee. Generally, a two anna or a four anna coin is given. So, is it possible to believe, that a man like Dastur Darab would care to ask for, and even insist for, a bribe like an anna or even a rupee, and risk the danger of being found out by his people in the temple?

(c) If Darab, while showing him the Fire-temple, at all cared for a small gift, what was there to prevent him from demanding it beforehand when arranging the visit? Anquetil was in earnest to know something about the Fire-temple. So, knowing his earnestness, Darab could have squeezed him beforehand while arranging for the visit at Anquetil's house. There, he could have, without being overheard by others, stipulated from the very beginning to have a larger sum. As Anquetil himself says, Darab, while arranging for a visit to the temple at Anquetil's house, where he was alone, was satisfied with a small present and the idle curiosity of a palanquin ride, how can he ask and argue for a petty offering at the temple, running thereby the risk of being found out as a traitor to his community?

(d) There is another inconsistency in the statement of Anquetil. He, more than once, represents Dastur Darab as an exacting ^{man}, asking from him high prices for the writing or selling of manuscripts. If Darab was, as represented by Anquetil, ambitious and tried to exact beforehand high prices in the small matters of writing or selling manuscripts in which there was very little of danger to be afraid of from his people, one should naturally expect, that he should be more so and exact a larger sum for consenting to show him the Fire-temple clandestinely in a Parsee dress and not be satisfied with a small present (*un petit present*) before taking him to the temple and a small offering (*quelque petit offrande*) at the temple itself, a task which was full of risk.

We have read of some travellers having gone to some Mahomedan places of pilgrimage in the guise of Mahomedans. But we know, that such travellers, when once into the foreign sacred places, did not demur to small payments, but willingly paid them, in order to avoid detection. But here, Anquetil says, that he objected to even a small offering and even argued with Darab for his justification for non-payment.

We thus see that Anquetil's statements are full of inconsistencies and self-contradictions.

Anquetil says, that he had a sabre and a pocket-pistol with him.

7. Anquetil's
sabre and pistol. If he went to the Fire-temple in the Parsee dress, how could he carry a sabre and a pistol without drawing the attention of the few Parsee worshippers who, as he himself says, were there. Perhaps, one may think, that a pocket-pistol can be concealed in a pocket; but how can a sabre, a kind of curved or bent sword, be concealed under a Parsee dress? If he had put on these over the Parsee dress in some way, they would most assuredly have drawn the attention of the Parsee worshippers and led to some inquiry as to who he was. But it is difficult to believe the truth of his statement. The fact seems to be, that he did go with a sabre and a pistol, which almost all foreigners carried in India in his time. But his statements, that he had put on a Parsee dress and that his visit was secret, are incorrect. Perhaps, one may say, that even some Parsees employed in the Nabob's Court at those times, carried swords. But they did not go to the temples for worship so armed. Even, if they did, being a few familiar faces in Surat, they could easily be known. But a foreigner like Anquetil, if he went there as a Parsee, would naturally draw inquiries as to who the new Parsee was.

Anquetil's says that his visit "lasted for an hour."

8. Anquetil's inspection of the Fire-temple for about an hour. (a) If he went in as a Parsee and inspected the temple for about an hour, his inspection should naturally have drawn the attention of the Parsee worshippers there. They would have most naturally thought to themselves: "He is a Parsee and why should he go round in a Fire-temple and inspect it?" That may lead to an inquiry and detection.

(b) Perhaps, one may say, that a foreign Parsee, coming from another Parsee centre, may probably like to have a little careful look into the Fire-temple of a new city. But, in such a case, why an inspection for one hour? The Indian Fire-temples of the last and preceding centuries were not like the modern Fire-temples. Of the Fire-temple, which Anquetil saw, he himself says "It is a building of wood, plaster and earth, of which the exterior form is not different from that of other buildings of Surat." We thus see, that from outside, it was a small place like other ordinary houses of Surat. One can have an idea, even now, of some of the old Fire-temples of the Parsees, from some of the present old Fire-temples of some of the villages round Surat and Broach. One can finish an inspection of them in two or three minutes. Even the best of the modern Fire-temples of Bombay, can be inspected by a Parsee coming from the motussil within 10 or 15 minutes the most. So, if Anquetil inspected the temple for one hour, his inspection must have excited the curiosity of the other worshippers who were there. They should naturally have inquired from Dastur Darab, as to who the foreign Parsee was, who inspected for nearly one hour the temple which can be seen within five or ten minutes the most. According to Anquetil, nothing of the kind happened. So, the real fact is, that Anquetil went as a foreigner in his national European dress—and not clandestinely dressed as a Parsee,—and openly examined the place and made all possible inquiries as a foreigner, and took notes and perhaps measurements. So, it is possible that the inspection took one hour.

Anquetil, in his account of his visit to the Fire-temple, says: "I examined everything. I entered everywhere and I impressed very clearly on my mind all that I saw in order to be able, on my return, to prepare the plan and the description, which one would see hereafter in the second volume, pp. 568-572." He then gives, in the second volume, a detailed description of the inside of the temple, even giving the measurements of some parts. He also gives a plan (Plate XIII, 3

attached to p. 546). I do not give my translations of the details as they would not much interest all my hearers or readers, but I would strongly recommend them to have a little look at the above pages of Anquetil. They will soon find, even by a superficial look at them, and even without understanding the details, that Anquetil describes the inside of the temple very minutely. If they will look to the detailed description, I think, they will agree with me, when I say, that the first part of the above statement of Anquetil, *viz.*, that he examined everything and entered everywhere is correct, but the latter part, *viz.*, that he impressed on his mind all that he saw, in order to be able to prepare the plan and description on his return home, is not correct. It was not possible for him, a foreigner, to impress on his mind all that he saw, so as to be able to give all the details and the plan, as he has given them. The fact seems to be, that he saw the temple openly in his usual dress, and not clandestinely dressed as a Parsee, and that every opportunity was given to him by Darab to take notes and even measurements. In the matter of details, he gives, in one place, even the measurement of the diameter of the top of the Fire-vase as three feet. It is not possible to believe, that he could give such details, not of one thing but of a number of things, not of one instrument or utensil of religious ritual but of several, without taking notes and actual measurements, and if not measurements, at least without taking notes there and then. That a detailed inspection of these things carried on for about an hour, by a Parsee who is ordinarily expected to know, if not all things, at least a good many, was carried on without being observed by the other Parsee visitors of the temple, or, without leading to an inquiry, passes our belief.

Perhaps, one may say, that Anquetil observed and inspected all things very carefully and got the actual measurements and details afterwards from Dastur Darab. If so, Anquetil does not frankly say so. He makes his readers understand that he clandestinely went into the temple as a Parsee, bribing Dastur Darab with a small money present and with the hope of a palanquin ride, and that he went into the Yazashn-e-gah, though Darab hesitated and objected. He thus conceals facts and makes wrong statements in order to gain undue credit among people, unacquainted with Parsee matters, and separated from India by thousands of miles requiring a voyage and journey of about six months, of having performed an extraordinary feat or made an adventure. If one admits, that Anquetil made a wrong statement in this case, he must admit, that Anquetil is capable of making other false statements also about the visit to the temple in a Parsee dress.

Anquetil says : “ I went near the place, set apart for the recitation of Yazashne. Darab made some hesitation to allow me to enter there, protesting that he would afterwards be obliged to purify it ; but I went in taking no notice of that ”

10. Inspection of the Yazashne-gah.

What Anquetil says can easily be believed by his European readers of those times, but not by the Parsis or even by modern Europeans who know something of Parseeism. It is difficult to believe, that Darab, who did not hesitate to show to Anquetil the Atash-gah, *i.e.*, the fire-chamber, should hesitate to show him the Yazashne-gah, *i.e.*, the place where the Yazashne is recited, a place which is held to be less sacred than the Atash-gah of a Fire-temple. Even, at present, non-Parseees are more easily admitted in the Yazashne-gah for the purpose of repairs than in the Atash-gahs. In some temples, the Atash-gahs are whitewashed and repaired by Parsees. For example, it is said, that into the Atash-gah of the Atash-Behram or the great Fire-temple of Dadyseth in Bombay, no non-Parsee has ever entered since its foundation about more than 100 years ago.¹ What I mean to assert is, that it is inconsistent to believe, that, if Darab ever permitted Anquetil to see the sacred fire in the Atash-gah, he could, with any consistency, oppose his seeing the *Yazashneh-gâh*. It was only the other day, on the evening of Wednesday, the 22nd December of the last year, that Rev. Dr. Moulton, who is on a visit to India, and who studies modern Parseeism, walked with me into the Yazashne-gah of the Dadyseth Atash-Behram, one of the oldest great Fire-temples of Bombay. He did so in the company of a priest of the temple, who took him in, because the Yazashne-gah was being repaired and the ceremonial fire and the other requisites were removed. But the Sanctum Sanctorum where the sacred fire has been burning for the last 100 years, was closed to his inspection.

Anquetil says : “ I found in the corner of the Izashna-khaneh, his Zend, Pahlavi and Persian books, and among others, the manuscripts, which, he had assured me, he had not. I knew that his Library was in the Dar-i-Meher.”

11. The inspection of Darab's manuscripts in the Yazashne-gah.

(a) One must bear in mind, that at that time—about 150 years ago, of which Anquetil writes, when printing was not known in India,—manuscripts had great value. We learn from the

¹ After writing the above, I went to this oldest of Parsee Atash-Behrams, in the company of the learned archeologist, Dr. Spooner, on 17th February 1916, and saw that arrangements were being made to remove the sacred fire from its chamber which required a thorough reparation. An old priest, in a touchingly plaintive voice, did not like this removal.

colophons, etc.; of several of them, how anxious the writers and owners were about the preservation of their manuscripts. As one mortgages or pledges now his property or his household things to borrow money, so the owners pledged manuscripts which were held precious. So, it is not expected that Darab would keep his precious manuscripts exposed in an open place like the Yazashneh-Khaneh. He would keep them under lock and key.

(b) Again, Darab's visit was not a sudden visit, but a pre-arranged visit. If so, and if Darab had assured Anquetil that he had not a particular manuscript, one would naturally expect, that Darab, not to find himself exposed for having said an untruth, should have taken all possible care to conceal that particular manuscript.

(c) Again, if Darab was an ambitious or greedy man, ever ready to squeeze Anquetil, as Anquetil represents him to be, why did he deny to Anquetil the possession of this manuscript? A greedy man like him would have tried to dispose of his rare manuscript, squeezing a high price for it.

(d) But, if we take Anquetil's statement to mean, that Darab did not like to part with his manuscript, and so assured him that he did not possess it, how can we believe that a learned man like him, who valued his book more than money, could stoop to "a small present" and a palanquin ride to show the sacred fire of a temple, committing a breach of faith to his community.

(e) Anquetil's statement shows that he examined all the manuscripts in the Fire-temple, and in that examination found out the above manuscript. One may ask: Did not the presence of a Parsee stranger armed with sabre and pistol in a Fire-temple and his inquisitiveness to look into Zoroastrian manuscripts and his talk with Darab on the subject draw the attention of the few Parsee worshippers in the temple? A Parsee layman knowing anything of the Avesta or Pahlavi was an *avis rara* in those times. For example, as said by Anquetil himself,¹ even an intelligent person like Mr. Navroji, a son of the well-known Rustom Manock Seth, the first Parsee to go to England about 40 years before Anquetil's time, could not read an Avesta Manuscript shown to him at Oxford. Such being the case, a rare bird like Anquetil would most assuredly have drawn the attention of the Parsees in the temple.

Anquetil's statements seem to be full of inconsistencies. The fact seems to be this: "Anquetil had gone openly to the Fire-temple after previous arrangement in his usual European dress and was shown the

¹ Zend Avesta, Tome, I, p. XX, IV, Notice VI, p. IX.

temple from which the sacred fire was removed. All the details were explained to him by Dastur Darab for which he may have taken notes there and then, or perhaps Darab supplied to him the details later on. At the same time Darab must have arranged to bring for Anquetil's inspection all his manuscripts there from his house adjoining the temple. The members of Dastur Darab's family still occupy a house in the Kanpi Bazar at Surat, which is known as the juni Agiary, i.e., the old Fire-temple. Dastur Darab's house and his Fire-temple were burnt in the great fire of Surat which occurred on 24th April 1837.

VIII.

OUTSIDE EVIDENCE.

We have, so far, examined Anquetil's allegation against Darab, on the ground of, what we have termed, the inside evidence of his own statements about the visit to the Fire-temple. We will now examine it on evidence other than that found in Anquetil's statement of the visit, on what can be termed outside evidence.

Dastur Darab was not an ordinary person. That he was of high position is seen from the following facts :-

(a) As seen above, we learn, that he was a Mobadân Mobad, one who had descended from a respectable family of Mobads or priests. One of his ancestors, the sixth in ascent "Dastur Shapur Herbad Kaikobad" was a known Dastur of Surat whose name was commemorated in the dhup-Nerang as that of a known departed worthy. Thus, he belonged to a Dastur family.

(b) He himself was a learned priest. He knew Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian. The Mobads or priests of his time who knew these languages were held in esteem. By the age of 24, he was sufficiently advanced in the knowledge of these languages, so as to write the colophons of Avesta manuscripts in Pahlavi and Persian. He had studied further under Jamasp Velayati. He was one of the three eminent pupils of this learned Zoroastrian of Persia, the other two being the well-known Dastur Jamasp Asa of Naosari and Dastur Kamdin of Broach. Anquetil himself speaks of him as more learned than others (*plus instruit que les autres*). Again, Dastur Jamshed of Naosari, whom Anquetil met at Naosari, also spoke of him as the most able Dastur of India (*le plus habile Destour de l'Inde*).

(c) He was an honest man who acted according to the dictates of his conscience. Anquetil himself once speaks of him as a "sincere"

person. He separated from his co-religionists, when he conscientiously thought that the Calendar of the Iranian Zoroastrians was right, and that of the Indian, wrong.

(d) He was appointed the Dastur or the High Priest of the Kadmi sect for his learning.

(e) The Ithoter Revayet speaks of him as a Dindâr Dastur, i.e., as a religious-minded Dastur. He was, besides being the teacher of a foreigner like Anquetil, the teacher of another distinguished pupil, Kâus, the well-known messenger who went to Persia carrying several questions for inquiry from the Parsees of Surat and who was the father of the well-known Moola Feroze of Bombay.

(f) At the time of Anquetil's visit, he was not a raw impulsive youth, but was, as Anquetil himself says, an old man (vieux Darab) of about 60 years of age.

All these facts show him to be an honest learned Dastur of high position, held in esteem both here in India and in Persia. Can we then possibly think, that a man of his position, learning, character, and age, a preceptor of learned disciples, a Dastur of the community, could commit an unlawful act of breach of faith to his people and show the sacred fire of the fire-temple to a foreigner for the trifle of "a small present" and the vulgar curiosity of a ride in a palanquin? Can we believe, that a Dastur like him would stoop to ask for a small offering (une petite offrande) from Anquetil, and to do a sacrilegious act? Had he chosen, he would have been more greedy and asked for higher prices for his manuscripts which he wrote for, or which he sold to, Anquetil. Had he chosen, he could have got for a mere asking, rides, more than one, and in palanquins far richer and better than that of Anquetil, who, as he himself says, at more than one place, was living from hand to mouth on beggarly payments from his Government and could therefore not afford to keep a rich palanquin. Considerations of these kinds condemn as untruthful the statements of Anquetil who aimed at appearing as an extraordinary person in pursuit of knowledge.

We saw in the outline of Darab's life, that he was not living on friendly terms with Muncherjee Seth. His community was divided into two sects, and he was the ecclesiastical head of one sect. He had to live under a kind of active hostility, which went to such an extent, that he had, if what Anquetil says was true, to leave Surat and to go to Damam. We cannot possibly believe, that surrounded by a number of hostile eyes, he could

13. The hostility under which Darab had to live and work.

dare to do an act which could bring him and his sect into ~~disgrace~~ ^{disgrace}.

Lay aside the question of the fear and hostility of enemies, and take the case of the fear of the community as a body. If, as said by Anquetil, Darab was afraid of his people for selling Zoroastrian books and for giving him lessons, how can it be believed that he would not be more afraid of the community in doing a hundred times more wrongful act, a sacrilegious act.

Anquetil seems to imply, that he had taken his peon into his confidence. He does not seem to have taken even his brother into his confidence. He does not say, that he mentioned the fact of his alleged visit to the sacred fire to anybody at Surat. So, it seems that his statement about the visit was a mere after-thought, suggested at a weak moment, to boast before his European readers as a great adventurer who saw the sacred fire of the Parsees at the risk of his life.

While studying the question again in 1914, it struck me, that if his statement about the visit of the temple under disguise, &c., was true, we must naturally expect, that he must have taken some notes of that visit in his diary or note-book. With that view, I wrote to Mademoiselle Menant, in 1914, to inquire on the subject. In her reply, dated 21st January 1915, she said "There is no manuscript journal of diary as you suppose."¹ She further said. "There is no mention of the incidents of the visit."² In her above letter of 21st January 1915, she writes to me, that in some manuscript notes of Anquetil, there is a reference to the visit to the Dar-i-Mehet, which runs thus: "20th June I went at 8 o'clock in the evening to the Dar-i-Meher of the Fire Aderan of the Parsees"³ In this reference, he says nothing about the alleged clandestine visit in Parsee disguise.

We thus see, that there is no diary or there are no manuscript notes taken at the time which could confirm what he says in his book. In one note, that is found, there is a reference to the visit, but it does not say that it was a clandestine visit. These facts show that the idea of a clandestine visit was an after-thought that occurred to him later. It was an after-thought, conceived on his return to Paris, conceived

¹ "Il n'y a pas du journal manuscrit de diary comme vous le supposez."

² "Il n'y a pas de mention des incidents de la visite."

³ "Le 20 Juin J'allai a 8 hr. du soir au der meher du feu Aderan des Parsees."

with a weakness common to some travellers to exaggerate the importance of their work.

Again Anquetil had given an account of his voyage in India in two parts in a Paper read in 1762. It is published in the "Journal des Savants" (pp. 413 *et seq.* et 474 *et seq.*), under the heading of "Relations abrégées de voyage d'Anquetil." Mademoiselle Menant, on looking to the Papers of Anquetil, found these journals. She says, that it appears, that Anquetil had read the Paper in Paris on 4th May 1762. The first part of the Paper gives a short account of the journey and the second that of the Avesta manuscripts he had taken from here. In that Paper, there is no reference to his visit to the Fire-temple. Mademoiselle Menant writes to me in her letter, dated 28th January 1915, "Il n'y est pas question de la visite au Temple du feu," i.e., "there is no question there of the visit to the Fire-temple." I am not in a position to speak with any force or authority on this subject, as these journals are not available here for my inspection. But it strikes one, that had the visit been such a perilous and adventurous one in the disguise of a Parsee, and requiring sabre and pistol, as Anquetil represents it to be in his book, he would have referred to it as a great event in his short account of his travels. But as it was not so and as it was an ordinary event, he did not refer to it. It seems that it was after this Paper, (1762), that he thought of giving the event an extraordinary colour (1771).

We learn from Anquetil's own statement, that he did not part with his teacher Darab in peace. Darab sued Anquetil for the money due to him for lessons and for the manuscripts. Anquetil was often inclined to threaten people. So, had there been any clandestine visit of a fire-temple, Anquetil, who, at first complains of Darab's action, would have tried to silence him by the threat of an exposure. He did not do so. That very fact shows, that there was no clandestine visit at all. It was a sheer fabrication suggested to him at a weak moment, to give an undue importance to his visit.

Anquetil in his account of his visit to the Salsette, refers to a Parsee servant named Irdjee (Hirjee). He speaks of him as a faithful servant (*mon fidèle domestique*). This fact of a Parsee being in his service suggests some thoughts on the subject of his alleged secret visit of the temple.

(a) Anquetil says, that Darab was afraid of his people and so went to him to give lessons, as it were, stealthily. If so, did not Irdjee

notice Darab's presence? Did he not notice or learn 'anything' of Darab being a party to Anquetil's disguise and to his secret visit of the temple? He must have seen a Parsee dress brought to his master's house. He must have seen him going out in a Parsee dress. If he did notice or learn all this, why did he not expose Darab before his co-religionists?

(b) Perhaps, it may be said, that as he was a faithful servant, he thought it was faithless to expose his master, and so, he concealed the fact from his co-religionists. But on Anquetil's own statement, we know of an instance, wherein, notwithstanding his loyalty to his master, he refused to do a wrongful act. He was careful of the religious feelings of Hindus. When in the cave temple of Jogeshri, near Andheri, with his master, Anquetil once asked him to lift up stealthily a Hindu idol from the temple. Irdjee refused to do so. Anquetil, therefore, had to get it taken up by a Mahomedan. So, if Irdjee was so much careful as not to do a sacrilegious act in a Hindu temple, how can he be expected to keep a secret when one of the fire-temples of his own religion was being desecrated?

(c) But, suppose for the sake of argument, that Irdjee, was ~~very~~ loyal, faithful and always inclined to obey his master's order, and that his refusal to do that order at the Hindu temple was an exceptional case of some momentary scruples not to do a sacrilegious act. If so, the question strikes us, as said above: Why did not Anquetil take him into his confidence during his alleged visit to the sacred fire-temple? He took a non-Parsee peon with him and he had to keep him at some distance to avoid detection. But, he could have easily taken with him this Parsee servant, who could have walked with him not in the street alone, but into the very fire-temple itself. All these above considerations point to the improbability of Anquetil's disguise as a Parsee.

Anquetil has told us that during his stay in Surat, Persian was his medium of conversation with Dastur Darab. He had begun the study of that language at Utrecht in Holland and had continued it during his stay at Pondicherry and Bengal. Now, it was not all Parsees in those times that knew Persian. Few, who were learned priests and who were connected with the Court of the Nahoo or had to do something or other with some of the European factories, knew Persian. Even with these few, the language of correspondence and conversation among themselves was Gujarati and not Persian. So, the question is: Did not the very fact or Darab's conversing in Persian in the temple with Anquetil dressed as a Parsee, draw the attention of the other Parsees in the temple? They

18. The Language of Conversation between Darab and Anquetil.

ought to have been struck with the unusual occurrence of Darab talking with a strange Parsee in Persian. If they were so struck, did not that lead to an inquiry and an exposure? This circumstance points to the improbability of Anquetil's attending the fire-temple secretly in a Parsee dress.

Anquetil's subsequent account¹ of his stay and last days in Surat shows, that at the time of his departure from

19. Anquetil
owed a debt to
Darab.

Surat, Darab was obliged to restrain his goods for non-payment of the debt due to him and his cousin Kaus for the manuscripts supplied to him. The financial affairs of the French factory at Surat during the last year of Anquetil's stay were so bad, that Anquetil was not paid, during the whole of the year, his regular fixed stipends. So, it is possible that he could not pay Dastur Darab for the manuscripts he purchased for him during the year and for the tuition he had from him. The visit to the Dar-i-Meher took place about nine months before the date of his departure from Surat. So, it seems, that at the time of the visit, Anquetil had stopped payments to Darab, both for any manuscripts written for him by Darab at the time and for the monthly stipends for tuition. Thus, Anquetil owed a debt to Darab at the time of the visit. That being the case, it passed beyond belief, that Darab, who magnanimously allowed the debt to grow, could stoop to ask for "a small present" to show the sacred fire to him clandestinely and to ask for a small offering at the temple.

I think, that we get a strong evidence of the untruthfulness of Anquetil's account of his alleged secret visit to the temple from the book of another traveller, Stavorinus, who was an officer of the naval fleet of the Dutch. He had travelled in the East and was in Surat in about 1777 A. D., i.e., about 16 years after Anquetil. Mr. Samuel Hull Wilcocks has translated in 3 volumes the accounts of his travels in the East. Stavorinus gives a long account of his visit to Surat, and therein, while speaking of the Parsees of Surat,² refers to their Towers of Silence. There he thus refers to Anquetil's visit: "I had been told, that the great curiosity of the brother of the French chief, De Briancourt, to behold the inside of one of these charnel houses, would have cost him his life, had not his brother come in time to his assistance with some military; he was

¹ A Vol. I, P. I, pp. 434-5.

² Voyages to the East Indies, by Stavorinus, translated by Samuel Hull Wilcocks, Vol. II, pp. 501-22.

assaulted by a number of Parsees when he entered the gate, as he had been watched by them when he got up the wall."¹

Anquetil himself thus refers to his visit to the Towers of Silence : "Sometime afterwards (*i.e.*, after the visit to the Fire-temple), I went out of Surat to see the Dakhmes (the cemeteries) of the Parsees Several Parsees who saw me from a distance murmured against my curiosity. In the meantime there came a funeral procession and I was obliged to withdraw. . . . On my return, the murmurs increased. In the streets of Surat, several Parsees said loudly that I had profaned the place of their sepulchre, but their complaints had no other consequences."

These two statements show, how, within the short space of a few years, about 20, facts got exaggerated and mis-reported. Anquetil says nothing of climbing over a wall, or of an assault, or of the military being called. But a subsequent traveller heard exaggerated reports of Anquetil's visit of the Towers. Now, what I mean to advance from the fact of Stavorinus's exaggerated account is this : There was the fact of Anquetil's visit to the Towers of Silence. His visit was confined to the surrounding ground or compound, his presence in which even was disliked by the Parsees who were expecting a funeral at the time.² What occurred at the visit was afterwards exaggerated and talked of in the town, and Stavorinus heard of the exaggerated report when he went there about 16 years afterwards. Anquetil must have told of his visit to the Towers, at least to his brother, Anquetil De Briancourt, who was at the head of the French Factory, because we find his (brother's) name associated with the story as Stavorinus heard it. In the same way, had the secret visit of the Fire-temple in the disguise of a Parsee been a fact, Anquetil would have told it, at least to his brother, who would then have, rather boastingly, told it to others and those others would have told it to Stavorinus, and the matter could have been talked of in the streets. Nothing of the kind has occurred. This shows, that the idea of giving, to the open visit of a fire-temple, which sacred fire was removed for the time being, the shape and form of a clandestine secret

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

² Even now, many Parsees do not like the presence of foreigners in the compound of the Towers as curious sight-seers at the time when funerals come in, and on occasions of the performance of religious ceremonies. The permits for visits to the Bombay Towers bear the following instructions to visitors : "Visitors are requested to withdraw from the compound when the funeral and other religious ceremonies are performed. Visitors will not be allowed to enter the compound on the day of *Farvardaan*. Visitors are requested not to smoke, and not to carry any camera with them into the compound. This permit issued free of charge. Nothing is to be paid at the Towers."

visit in a Parsee garb, seems to have occurred to Anquetil much later on, after leaving India.

Mademoiselle Menant in her lecture on "Anquetil Duperron a Surate"¹ believes Anquetil's statement as partly true, and gives the following reason for a learned and esteemed priest like Dastur Darab clandestinely showing the temple to an alien: "Darab croyait . . . à la conversion de jeune Ferengui, son élève, et il avait estimé sans doute que cette faveur suprême achèverait de faire tomber ses dernières hésitations." She quotes in italics Anquetil's few words in her support, though she sets aside his ironical remark, that Darab's belief was intended for a solace to his conscience.

Now, how can we take it, that Darab really believed, that Anquetil was a likely proselyte, (a) when there were long assertions by Anquetil himself, more than once, and in the temple itself, that he was a Christian, and (b) when he refused to give up smoking? The learned lady has taken only a very short passing notice of the question and has not said anything about Anquetil's contradictions and misstatements. She takes rather a sympathetic, appreciative and estimable view of the conduct of Darab; but, from her point of view also, Darab, though an esteemed Dastur in her eyes, seems to stand condemned for having done a wrongful act for the sake of money, &c. Again, how could Darab permit Anquetil to see the sacred fire on the mere hope, that he was likely to be a Zoroastrian proselyte, because proselytism was not known at the time? There were no known authentic instances of proselytism amongst the Parsees.

The day of Anquetil's visit to the temple was, as said by him, 20th June 1760. That corresponds to roz 6, Khor-

The day of Anquetil's visit to the Fire-temple, probably a day some time before the Temple's anniversary.

dad, mah 9 Adar, Shâhânshâhi, 1129 Yazdazardi. I suppose that the fire-temple was consecrated on roz 9 Adar, mah 9 Adar, i.e., the Adargân Jashan Day. Adar is the Yazata or angel presiding over fire. The 9th of the month bears that name and the 9th month of the year also, bears that name. So, the 9th day Adar, of the 9 month, Adar, is a holy day with the Parsees, especially, in connection with their esteem and reverence for fire. That being the case, whenever convenient, some fire-temples are founded or consecrated on that day; and so, the anniversaries of the foundation or consecration of those temples occur on that day of the Adargân festival in all subsequent years. For example, that is the case with the great and the oldest Indian Fire-temple at

¹ In 1907, p. 47

ANQUETIL DU PERRON OF PARIS.

Udwādā. The same is also the case with the Banaji, Manockjee Seth, Ashburner and Dorabji Jamsi fire-temples in Bombay. I think, that similarly, the Adargān feast day was the consecration day of Darab's fire-temple. So, its anniversary in the year of Anquetil's visit 1760 (roz Adar, mah Adar, 1129 Shāhānshāhi Yazdazardi) fell on the 23rd of June. That being the case, Darab must have removed the sacred fire from its chamber to some other place to get the fire-temple repaired and white-washed for the occasion. This is usually done, even now, in the case of many Fire-temples. Non-Parsees then go into the temple for the purpose of repairing and white-washing. Thus, we can understand, why Darab chose that day. Knowing before hand, that for the occasion of the coming anniversary of his fire-temple (on the 23rd of June 1760), he had to remove the sacred fire from the chamber for cleaning, repairing and white-washing the temple, he appointed the 20th of June as the day of the visit, so that, after the visit, he can get the place washed by Parsees and re-instate the sacred fire before the 23rd June.

There is one thing, which we must consider in connection with this matter. Anquetil says: "He (Darab) took for that visit a rainy day." This statement may be taken by some to imply, that Darab purposely preferred a dark rainy day for the clandestine visit. But that cannot be the case; the arrangement for the visit must have been made some days previously, at least a day or two previously. At least, Anquetil does not say, that it was made suddenly on a particular day. So, we take it, that it was arranged previously. Now, how can Darab predict or prognosticate, that the particular day—the 20th of June 1760—would be a rainy day? Even take it for granted, that the arrangement was not done previously, and the hour 6-30 p. m. was fixed on the same day, say in the morning or noon of that day. How can Darab prognosticate, that the hour of the visit would be rainy and dark? The probability is, that Darab, knowing that the fire-temple was to be white-washed for the coming anniversary of its consecration on the 23rd instant, appointed the third day before it for the visit and made all possible preparations, even a mock or counterfeit fire-service to show the temple properly to Anquetil. Everything was there in the temple in its proper place, except the sacred fire and some sacred requisites. After the visit, he must have washed the place as they do now, and brought in again the sacred fire and requisites. The day happened to be rainy, because it was the time when the Indian monsoons on the Western Coast just break in.

But, there is one thing, which one may possibly advance against me, in the matter of this supposition. It may be said, that Darab was not a Shâhânshâhi. He was a Kadmi. So, naturally, he would be expected to consecrate his temple on the Kadmi Adargân Jashan day, which fell in May and not in June. But Anquetil himself helps us in meeting this objection. He says in another part of his book : " That Dar-i-Meher, which I am going to describe, is the only one which the Parsees have in Surat " (le seul que les Parsees avaient à Surate). It has been built about 35 or 40 years ago (il a été construit il y a trente cinq à quarante ans) and belongs to Dastur Darab and his family."

Let us with the help of this statement determine the date of the foundation or consecration of this temple. Anquetil says, that it was built 35 or 40 years before, but he does not say, whether he means 35 or 40 years before the time of his visit in 1760 or before the time when he wrote or published his book in 1771. But to be on the safe side, let us take it that he meant 1771, the date of his publication. Again to be still more on the safe side, of the two number, 35 or 40, let us take the lesser number 35. Thus, on his own statement, Darab's temple was built 35 years before 1771, *i. e.*, in 1736. In that year (1736), Darab had not as yet turned Kadmi. He was then still Shâhânshâhi. It was in 1745, that he became Kadmi and became the head of the sect. Thus, we see the justification for the day of consecration and anniversary of his temple being the Adargân Jashan day, according to the calendar of the Shâhânshâhis.

IX.

CONCLUSION.

From all the above considerations, I come to the conclusion, that

What are the facts and what incorrect exaggerations ?

Anquetil's statement about the visit of the fire-temple is a mixture of facts and of incorrect exaggerations or boastings, of what had actually occurred and of what Anquetil added from his own imagination to give a colour of a great risky adventure to his visit. The facts are the following :—

1. It may be true, that he saw the building of a Fire-temple from within, on 20th June 1760, probably a rainy day. It was a day, on which the sacred fire of the temple was removed, probably because the temple was being white-washed by non-Parsees for its coming anniversary on the 23rd of June 1760. Probably, Darab asked his son to perform the Bui-dâdan ceremony for feeding the fire, to give Anquetil an idea

¹ Zend Avesta, Tome II, p. 568.

² *i. e.*, in the City itself, others being in the suburba.

of the ceremony, an ordinary household fire being brought into use for the occasion. This is what is done and can be done even now.

2. It may be true, that he went in with a sabre and a pistol ; but he did that in his usual European dress, as almost all Europeans carried sword and pistol in those days.

3. It may be true, that he was accompanied by a peon as many Europeans used to be so accompanied in those days.

4. It may be true, that he inspected the temple for about an hour, and understood all things from Darab. He may have taken notes of what he saw, and perhaps even took measurements of the place, or the measurements, etc., were supplied to him by Dastur Darab at the time or later on.

But, all the following matters stated or implied by Anquetil are *not* true but are the results of his imagination and invented to give a colour to his visit:—

1. It is not true, that he went disguised as a Parsee and that Darab arranged for such a clandestine visit.

2. It is not true, that Darab consented to show Anquetil the temple for the trifle of "a small present" from him and for the hope of a ride in his palanquin.

3. It is not true, that Darab asked for a small offering for the fire, or that he tried to squeeze it out of him.

4. It is not true, that Darab hesitated to show him the Yazashneh-khaneh.

In short, Anquetil's visit was an open day visit and not a clandestine visit in a Parsee dress. What happened was, Darab had nothing to be ashamed of, what would ordinarily happen, and what happens under similar circumstances even now. There was nothing for which Darab had the least reason to be ashamed.

About 50 or 60 years ago, the late Dr. Haug was given an opportunity to see many Parsee ceremonies and rites. I remember myself being at two such mock-services. One was arranged in 1886 or 1887 at the Appa Bag by the late Dastur Dr. Jamaspjee Minocherjee Jamaspasa, to be shown to the late Professor James Darmesteter, who was accompanied by Sir John Jardine, then a Judge of our High Court. I remember this instance, because I was asked by Dastur Jamaspji to explain the ritual, etc., to Professor Darmesteter when it was being

performed. The other instance was, I think, in 1901, when the late Mr. K. R. Kama had arranged to show the Yasna ceremony at the Dady Seth Fire-temple to Professor A. W. Jackson of the Columbia University of America. I remember having shown a Parsee Fire-temple in the Gola Lane in the fort in Bombay, to Mr. Ketttridge of America, a few days before its second consecration when the temple was rebuilt. Not to go far in the past, take the case of Rev. Dr. Moulton, who is in our midst at present. He tells me, that he was given an opportunity to see a part of the Yasna ceremony at Kurachee by Dastur Dr. Dhalla, who got it performed at his place. As said above, Dr. Moulton, while attending at the Navjote ceremony of the child of my friend Mr. Rustom Burjorji Paymaster, on 22nd December last year, had an opportunity to see the inside, except the sanctum sanctorum where the consecrated fire was burning, of the oldest Parsee temple, the Dady Seth Fire-temple, a temple of the first grade (an Atash Behram) which was then being repaired. He even saw the Yazashna-gah there.¹

I think that a similar thing was done by Dastur Darab. He must have called Anquetil to his Fire-temple from which the sacred fire must have been removed for the time being. Anquetil went there openly, dressed in his usual European dress, and was shown the ritual of Bui-dādān, *i. e.*, feeding the fire by Darab's son at the direction of his father; and that was done at a time earlier than that of the setting in of the Aiwisruthrem gah, the actual time when the sacred fire is fed with sandal accompanied by a religious service. I myself had done in 1901, a thing similar to what, I think, Darab did. The Seth Jejeebhoy Dadabhoy Fire-temple, of which I was then in charge, was under reparation in March-April 1901. So, when the consecrated fire was removed from the fire-chamber to another place for the time being, to admit the non-Parsee labourers, I took to the fire-temple Mademoiselle D. Menant and Professor Jackson, who had, during that year, come to India to study Parseeism in its home in Bombay and Gujerat. I showed them the temple and also the fire-chamber with all its accessories, except the sacred fire, which was removed from it. I could have, had I liked, and if they had wished, even placed an ordinary fire upon the fire vase, to give them a complete idea of the fire-chamber with its fire. I had also my library in that year in the Fire-temple itself and I remember having shown it also to

¹ After writing the above and after reading this paper, I showed on 17th February 1916 to Dr. D. B. Spooner, the excavator of the Pataliputra Perseipolitan palace-room, the above Dady Seth Atash-Behram and the Manockji Seth's Adarān, which were both being repaired. I also showed the Dady Seth Atash-Behram on Wednesday, the 29th March 1916, to Rev. Heskyes, Chaplain of a British Regiment.

the above visitors. I had also the pleasure of supplying a detail plan of this temple to the late Prof. James Darmesteter.¹

From all these facts, we see, that what can legitimately be done now, was done by Dastur Darab. But, Anquetil, to take some false credit of having done an extraordinary fact, gives the act an air of illegitimacy.

One could have perhaps easily contradicted Anquetil, had some of Darab's papers been available. But all his books and papers were lost in the great fire of 1837 at Surat, when his Dar-i-Meher and his adjoining house, with all their furniture, books, and papers were burnt. It is said, that the inmates had to leave the house suddenly to save their lives, and saved nothing but the clothes in which they were clad.

All honour is due to Anquetil, and all our homage is due to his memory, for his great adventure of having enlisted as a soldier at first and started to come to India to study Zoroastrianism in its adopted home, and to be the first to open the eyes of Western Scholars to the ancient Persian lore. But, it is a pity, that in order to give some false brilliance to his work, he overstated, exaggerated and even mis-stated facts and willingly or unwillingly defamed the good name of a learned Dastur.

¹*Id.* "Le Zend Avesta," par James Darmesteter **Premier Volume**, p. LVIII, Plate I.

*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,
1915-16 and a List of Presents to the Library, 1915.*

PROCEEDINGS.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 15th April 1915.
Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

There were also present Messrs. J. G. E. Metcalfe, P. N. Daruvala, K. C. Rushton, Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. Father R. Zimmermann, Messrs. K. Natarajan, Kuvalaya Raj, R. N. Munshi, W. H. Ogston, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Acting Honorary Secretary.

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, read his paper on the "Ancient History of Suez Canal from the times of the old Egyptian kings downwards."

After the conclusion of the paper, the President moved a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Modi for his interesting paper.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 21st of October 1915.

Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

There were also present Messrs. L. N. Banaji, Kuvalaya Raj, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Honorary Secretary. A few visitors were also present.

Dr. Modi read a paper on "Hamza Isfuhani ; a peep into Arabic Histories in the matters Iranian," by Mr. G. K. Nariman.

Dr. Modi proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Nariman for his interesting and learned paper, which was carried.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 25th November 1915.

The Hon. Justice Sir John Heaton, I.C.S.,

President in the Chair.

There were also present, the Hon. Mr. Justice L. A. Shah, Rev. Dr. R. Scott, Messrs. J. E. Aspinwall, Kuvalaya Raj, B. V. Wasudeo, V. P. Vaidya, R. N. Munshi, Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare, Messrs. J. S. Sansgiri, A. B. Agaskar, P. V. Kane, Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Honorary Secretary.

ABSTRACT OF THE SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS.

After some discussion it was resolved to subscribe to "Land and Water" from 1916.

Proposed by Mr. J. E. Aspinwall,

Seconded by Mr. V. P. Vaidya,

Carried.

and to the "Ceylon Antiquary" for one year.

Proposed by Mr. V. P. Vaidya,

Seconded by Mr. J. E. Aspinwall.

Carried.

Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya read his paper on "Harsha and his times."

Mr. P. V. Kane proposed a vote of thanks to Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya for his interesting and learned paper. The proposal having been seconded by Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare was unanimously carried.

Mr. V. P. Vaidya proposed and Justice Shah seconded that Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya's paper be printed in the Society's Journal.

Carried.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 16th December 1915.

The Hon Justice Sir John Heaton, I.C.S ,
President in the Chair.

There were also present, Mrs. W. D. Sheppard, Messrs. G. K. Nariman, Kuvalaya Raj, J. S. Sansgiri, R N. Munshi, J. P. Watson, Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare, Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. Father R. Zimmermann, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Honorary Secretary. A few visitors, among whom was Dr. J. Hope Moulton, the distinguished Zoroastrian Scholar, also attended the meeting.

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi read his paper on "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris : India as seen by him in 1755-61."

Mr. G. K. Nariman proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Modi for his interesting and learned paper. The proposition being cordially seconded by Dr. J. Hope Moulton was unanimously carried.

A meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 7th February 1916.

The Hon. Justice Sir John Heaton, I.C.S.,
President in the Chair.

There were also present Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. Father R. Zimmermann, Messrs. A. F. Kindersley, R. N. Munshi, L. N. Banaji, G. K. Nariman and Kuvalaya Raj.

Dr. J. J. Modi read his paper on "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris and Dastur Darab of Surat."

After a few remarks by Rev. R. Zimmermann and Mr. G. K. Nariman, a hearty vote of thanks was moved to Dr. Modi for his interesting and learned paper.

A meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 3rd March 1916.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The following members attended the meeting :—Miss Scerreen S. Paruck, The Hon. Mr. Justice L. A. Shah, Dr. J. J. Modi, Messrs. V. P. Vaidya, H. J. Bhabha, G. K. Nariman, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Honorary Secretary.

There were also present a few visitors among whom were Dr. J. Hope Moulton and Mr. Ratan Tata.

Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Modi read his paper on "Dr. Spooner's recent archaeological excavations at Pataliputra and the question of the influence of ancient Persia upon India."

After a few remarks by Dr. Moulton and Mr. G. K. Nariman, Dr. Scott proposed a cordial vote of thanks to Dr. Modi for his interesting and suggestive paper and to Mr. Ratan Tata for his valuable help in promoting Archæological work in India.

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